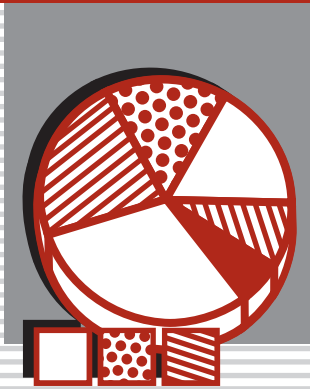




The Better Budget



The Better Budget

The Buck Institute for Education

The Buck Institute for Education (BIE) is a not-for-profit (501c3) research and development organization working to make schools and classrooms more effective through the use of problem and project based instruction. Founded in 1987, BIE received permanent funding from the Leonard and Beryl Buck Trust, and receives funding for specific projects from foundations, schools, school districts, state educational agencies, and the federal government. BIE's current programs are organized around three objectives:

1. *Engaging Learners*: BIE offers problem based curriculum units for high school economics, government, and world history. The BIE *Project Based Learning Handbook* is used by teachers throughout the United States to plan, implement, and assess standards-focused projects that motivate students and enhance their learning.
2. *Supporting Teachers*: Professional development workshops in Problem Based High School Social Science and Project Based Learning (PBL) are given several times each year at the BIE offices in Novato, California. BIE also provides customized workshops on-site at schools and districts by request.
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For further information, visit www.bie.org.

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The Better Budget

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The Better Budget

Problem Statement



How can we, as members of a constituent focus group, balance budget cuts so that we satisfy both liberals and conservatives in our district?

❖ Introduction

Governments must make decisions about how to use scarce resources, and these decisions reflect beliefs about what responsibility government has to the people. There is never complete agreement about funding priorities, but leaders must reach some consensus in order to produce a budget and get on with the business of government. This unit is designed to help students grapple with this dilemma.

The unit has three layers that use the problem based learning approach. In the first layer, students explore how cuts made to the federal budget shift responsibility for solving problems to other entities—states, local governments, families, community groups, and businesses. In the second layer, students investigate how liberals and conservatives differ in terms of what they think the federal government should fund and what they think should be left to the other entities. Students also explore their own points of view, and learn how liberal and conservative values are based upon people's beliefs about the purpose of human beings. In the third layer, students are required to make compromise budget cuts that reflect the desires of both liberals and conservatives.

❖ Purpose and Rationale

This unit is designed to teach students about the appropriate role of government at the federal, state, and local levels, and about the responsibility of citizens and community as perceived by liberals and conservatives. The unit illustrates the tensions that exist between individual wants and needs versus the collective good. It defines the role of government and its relationship to social and economic policy, and introduces the notion of compromise and its importance in maintaining a democracy. The purpose of this unit is to help students develop and define their own views on the role of government.

❖ Placement in Curriculum

The Better Budget is a good unit to use early in the semester—especially the first layer—because it addresses questions about the responsibilities of government and the responsibilities of citizens. These are issues that are revisited throughout a semester government course. This unit also complements the **President's Dilemma** unit on fiscal policy, which is a part of the Problem Based Economics units from the Buck Institute for Education. A complete listing of content standards associated with each unit can be found in the **Problem Based Government Overview**. The tables under *Content Standards* show the standards addressed by this unit.

❖ Concepts Taught

This unit has been designed to teach the following concepts:

- Liberalism
- Conservatism
- Government Responsibility
- Citizen Responsibility
- Discretionary Expenditures
- Mandatory Expenditures

Teachers can also cover the following concepts using this unit:

- Neoclassical Liberals
- Social Welfare Liberals
- Classical Conservatives
- Laissez Faire (Free-Market) Conservatives
- Social Contract
- Ideas of:
 - Thomas Hobbes
 - John Locke
 - Edmund Burke
 - Thomas Paine
- Federal Expenditures
- Federal Revenues
- Debt and Deficit
- Budget Categories
- Populism
- Libertarianism
- Laissez Faire

❖ Objectives

By participating in this unit, students will:

- Understand that tension exists among state, federal, and local governments and citizens over who should take responsibility for particular programs and problems
- Recognize that citizens and elected officials decide what work government should do (public policy), and that funding priorities are set accordingly
- Understand the history of liberal and conservative ideologies
- Understand contemporary liberal and conservative thinking
- Recognize personal liberal and conservative values
- Realize that determining public policy and setting funding priorities are subject to much debate and require compromise in order for government to function
- Develop reading, writing, listening, and oral presentation skills

❖ Content Standards

The decisions that governments make about the use of scarce resources reflect personal beliefs about what responsibilities government has to the people and what responsibilities should remain in the private sector with companies, nonprofits, and individuals. There is never complete agreement about these beliefs, but leaders must reach some consensus in order to govern. Students, as future political participants, need to be cognizant of this dilemma and its resulting compromises.

The Better Budget addresses the following *National Standards for Civics and Government*, Center for Civic Education, 1994, for grades 9 through 12.

Standard	Concept	
I. A.	Definition and Purpose of Government	✓
I. B.	Characteristics of Limited and Unlimited Government	
I. C.	Nature and Purposes of Constitutions	
I. D.	Alternative Constitutional Systems	
II. A.	U.S. Constitutional System	
II. B.	Distinctive American Characteristics	*
II. C.	American Political Culture	*
II. D.	American Constitutional Values and Principles	✓
III. A.	Constitutional Restraints: Shared and Limited Powers	*
III. B.	Organization of the National Government	*
III. C.	Organization of State and Local Governments	*
III. D.	The Rule of Law	
III. E.	Choice and Opportunity for Participation	
IV. A.	World Politics	
IV. B.	U.S. Relations with the World of Nations	
IV. C.	U.S. Influence in the World of Nations	
V. A.	Citizenship	
V. B.	Rights of Citizens	
V. C.	Responsibilities of Citizens	✓
V. D.	Civic Traits Needed to Improve Democracy	
V. E.	Civic Participation	

✓ = a standard that is addressed with this curriculum

* = a standard that could be addressed with this curriculum

The Better Budget addresses the following *Curriculum Standards for Social Studies*, developed by the National Council for the Social Studies, 1994, for high school.

Standard	Concept	
VI.	POWER, AUTHORITY, AND GOVERNANCE	
A.	Individual Rights, Roles, and Status	
B.	The Purpose of Government	✓
C.	Mechanisms Used to Balance Competing Needs and Wants	✓
D.	National Response to Conflicts	
E.	Comparative Political Systems	
F.	Conflict and Cooperation Among Nations	
G.	Role of Technology in Conflict Resolution	
H.	Applying Political Science Theories to Issues and Problems	✓
I.	Evaluating Government Achievement	*
J.	Preparing and Defending Public Policy Papers	

Standard	Concept	
X.	CIVIC IDEALS AND PRACTICES	
A.	Key Democratic Republican Ideals	★
B.	Citizens' Rights and Responsibilities	
C.	Evaluating Selected Public Issues	✓
D.	Forms of Civic Participation	
E.	Influence of Forms of Participation on Public Policy	
F.	Public Policy Analysis and Political Actors	
G.	Impact of Public Opinion on Public Policy and Decision-Making	★
H.	Relationship of Policy and Behavior to Democratic Ideals	✓
I.	Policy Statement and Action Plan for a Public Issue	
J.	Participate in Activities for the Common Good	★

✓ = a standard that is addressed with this curriculum

★ = a standard that could be addressed with this curriculum

❖ Time Required

The first layer of the problem = 1 day (a 45- to 60-minute class period)

The three layers = 5 days

Extended discussions of budget deficits and debt, foreign policy implications, and liberal and conservative philosophy can extend the problem to two weeks.

❖ Unit Overview

Students are asked to serve as members of a focus group for a congresswoman interested in knowing what her constituents would cut from the current federal budget in order to save the federal government \$1 billion. In addition to making suggested cuts, students are asked to explain who they think should be responsible for programs eliminated by the federal government. The students then receive a memo from the congresswoman claiming that her constituents want to know if liberal and conservative view points were taken into account by the focus group. The congresswoman asks students to identify points of view favored by liberals or conservatives, and to indicate which best fits their own point of view. It is during this exercise that students are instructed about the origin of liberal and conservative thought and how these philosophies have changed over time. After this exercise, students receive a final memo from the congresswoman asking them to craft a compromise series of budget cuts that reflect both liberal and conservative priorities. Students are broken into groups of four with representation of liberals and conservatives. These groups are asked to indicate whether liberals or conservatives will support each of their budget cuts. This final compromise series of budget cuts, and the rationale behind them, serve as the evaluation portion of the problem.

❖ Resources

Resources are distributed to the students at different points in the problem. (See *The Sequence of the Unit* for one example.)

ALL HANDOUTS ARE LOCATED IN APPENDIX I

Assessment guidelines for evaluating student performance on unit products can be found on the Buck Institute for Education web site at www.bie.org. They include:

- Scoring guide for the chart on liberal and conservative points of view
- Rubric for the final budget cuts and the identification of liberal and conservative support
- Rubric for the briefing in which each group presents its budget cuts and rationale for the cuts

❖ Lesson Materials

Because problem based learning is grounded in constructivist learning, several “teachable moments” will arise when students readily see a need to know a particular concept. During these moments teachers can use several techniques to teach these concepts. For this purpose, lesson materials are included so that more traditional lectures can be used to provide information on more difficult subject matter. Alternatively, a Socratic method may be used in which the teacher uses questioning strategies to guide students toward knowledge and understanding.

In this unit we have included lesson material in the following areas for potential mini-lectures:

- Who Can and Will be Responsible for Federally Cut Programs
- A Brief History of Liberals and Conservatives
- Completed table for “Liberal and Conservative Points of View” (This is the teacher key in Appendix III)

LESSON MATERIALS ARE LOCATED IN APPENDIX II

Resources Include:

- Two memos with instructions from Congresswoman Nancy Wright
- Congresswoman Nancy Wright’s District: Community Profile
- Revenue and expenditures information for the federal budget
- United States debt table
- Revenue and expenditures information for the State of California
- Deficit spending information sheet
- Memo from Congresswoman Nancy Wright regarding Six Budget Categories
- Descriptions of Budget Categories and the Effects of Budget Cuts on Federal Programs
- Table with 1% and 5% budget cuts and rules for making cuts
- Memo from Congresswoman Wright regarding Liberal and Conservative Constituents
- Liberal and Conservative Information Sheet
- Definitions of Liberal and Conservative Groups
- Chart of Liberal and Conservative Points of View
- Memo from Congresswoman Wright regarding Compromise Budget Cuts
- Table with 1% and 5% budget cuts for compromise budget
- Classroom textbook
- Web sites



❖ The Sequence of the Unit

Because problem based learning depends to a great extent on how a particular group of students goes about the task of constructing knowledge from real-world applications, the sequence of learning will differ in each class. As a result, it is virtually impossible to describe the exact unfolding of this problem, even though it has been tested on several occasions. What follows is an example of the sequence of the problem during one class. We have used this particular sequence in our *Procedure* section. The highlighted phrases are cross-referenced in the margin for easier detection.



**cross-
referencing
box**

- Discuss the **memo from Congresswoman Wright** with the whole class
- Develop the **initial problem statement** with the whole class
- Develop the **initial know and need to know** lists with the whole class
- Discuss the **memo, community profile, revenue and expenditure tables, and U.S. debt table**
- Optional: Discuss **California budget** tables and pie charts
- Have students make **first problem log entry**
- Review **memo and budget category descriptions** with the whole class
- Assign **groups of six** to advocate for each category
- Have group members **meet to review** each category
- Review **budget cuts table and rules** for making cuts
- Revise **know/need to know** list
- Have students make **initial budget cuts** individually
- Have students determine **who will be responsible** for these programs
- Optional: Mini-lecture on **who will be responsible** for federally cut programs
- Discuss **student decisions** regarding program cuts and who will be responsible for these programs with the whole class
- Have students make **second problem log entry**
- Discuss **memo** from Congresswoman Wright regarding liberals and conservatives
- Discuss **information sheet, definitions, and chart**
- Revise **know/need to know** list
- Undertake **mini-lecture on liberal and conservative philosophies**
- Have students **fill in chart** of liberal and conservative points of view and answer “where do you fit?”
- Discuss **memo** from Congresswoman Wright
- Finalize **know list and problem statement**
- Have students make **final problem log entry**
- Create student **groups of four**, with mix of liberals and conservatives
- Have students **create compromise budget cuts** and identify liberal or conservative approval
- Use **scoring guides and rubrics** to assess student achievement
- **Wrap-up and debrief** with the entire class

❖ Procedure



memo from
Congress-
woman
Wright

ENTRY POINT

Students are given a memo from Congresswoman Wright. The congresswoman is asking students, as a focus group representing her constituency, to suggest cuts to the federal budget amounting to \$1 billion. She explains that a chart of funding sources and expenditures for the federal government will be provided.

SEE ENTRY DOCUMENT, APPENDIX I



initial
problem
statement

FRAMING OF THE PROBLEM

Once the entry document is discussed, have the students draft a tentative problem statement. Students should be prompted to start this process by filling specific information into the general problem statement form:

How can we, as?, do?, so that?

The initial problem statement may be far from the problem statement presented at the beginning of this lesson. This is expected. The problem statement will evolve as students gain more insight and knowledge about the problem and its underlying issues. Remember, the problem is intentionally ill-defined so that students must grapple with the issues and concepts. It is this continual struggle that builds knowledge. The initial statement may look something like:

How can we, as a constituent focus group, create a better budget by cutting federal programs so that we reduce the deficit, shift responsibility to state and local governments, and satisfy all of Congresswoman Nancy Wright's constituents?

Remember, for now it is fine to keep the problem statement ill-defined or off-target. The problem statement will become more refined, or perhaps change entirely, as the unit unfolds.



initial
know/need
to know

KNOWLEDGE INVENTORY (KNOW/NEED TO KNOW)

After constructing the problem statement, the first step in answering the question is for students to assess what they know about the problem. This is important because everything students are taught in the unit springs from the know/need to know list. This inventory can be done as a class by creating a "what we know" list on chart paper, an overhead transparency, or by using a computer projector. The know/need to know

inventory will differ for each class because students are struggling with identifying the knowledge they have and defining the body of knowledge they do not have. After reading the memo from Congresswoman Wright, students, working as a whole class, should be coached to identify all of the information the entry document provides. Ask students to carefully review the entry document and offer items for the list, making sure to *only record what is actually stated in the text and not what might be inferred*.

As part of this process, students should also be coached to identify information they need to know in order to provide a solution to the problem statement. If students are missing a key piece of important about the problem, the content, or their task, ask questions to elicit items for the list. Without a doubt, students will suggest things they need to know that, in reality, they do not need to know. Now is not the time to filter these questions out of the process. Rather, allow students to see their irrelevance once additional information is discovered. Remember, one goal of problem based learning is to develop independent problem solvers.

Examples of statements that might appear on the initial know/need to know list follow. *Remember that every class will produce a different list, and every idea should be put on the board.* Sometimes the seemingly strange ideas that come from a know/need to know discussion result in some of the more creative approaches to the problem's solution.

EXAMPLES OF INITIAL KNOW/NEED TO KNOW

What do we know?

- There is a deficit
- We have to help decide next year's federal budget
- We need to make major cuts to discretionary expenditures
- Our congresswoman wants her constituents to be part of the process
- The cuts will be either 1% or 5%
- Our goal is to cut \$1 billion
- Congress wants to shift responsibility to families, communities, and the state
- We are a focus group
- Our congresswoman will take into account all the people in her district
- We have to indicate who will take responsibility for cut programs
- We will receive a list of the cuts Congress is considering
- The congresswoman does not want to increase spending or raise taxes

What do we need to know?

- What are "discretionary programs"?
- What is "deficit"?
- Where does money come from?
- Why are we choosing 1% or 5%?
- Why is debt a problem? Can't we print more dollars?
- What is the federal government's motivation for passing costs on to state and local governments?
- What will be the impact of our cuts?
- What programs are we cutting?
- What can't we cut?
- Can we avoid deficits?
- What is the current budget?
- Why can't we cut mandatory programs?
- What's a "focus group"?
- How does the budget process work?
- What do the district's constituents want?
- What are families, communities, and states willing to take on?
- Who are Congresswoman Wright's constituents?

TEACHABLE MOMENTS AND DIALOGUES

Problem based learning is most effective with continual dialogue between the teacher (as a coach) and students. When students are left to discover knowledge or problem solutions on their own without teacher coaching, lectures, or use of problem logs, students may flounder or stray off-track. To prevent this, teachers must actively direct students toward the curriculum goals by posing probing questions in class discussions, providing lectures, circulating and listening to discussions in group work, and evaluating the problem log with meaningful, useful comments. Teachers may take advantage of teachable moments by giving mini-lectures using the lesson materials provided with this unit.

The lesson materials provided in Appendix II are meant for teachers to supplement their knowledge of the subject. It is not mandatory to use the lecture material. Much of this material can be used as needed or if questions arise that require a mini-lecture.

LESSON MATERIALS FOR MINI-LECTURES ARE LOCATED IN APPENDIX II

RESEARCH AND RESOURCES



memo,
community
profile,
revenue and
expenditure
tables, U.S.
debt table

The first resource students receive is a brief memo from the congresswoman, a community profile, a set of tables and charts with federal budget revenues and expenditures, the U.S. debt table, and an optional set of tables and charts with California state budget expenditures and revenues.

ALL HANDOUTS ARE LOCATED IN APPENDIX I

Students may assume that their cuts must meet the wishes and desires of the community Congresswoman Wright represents. We have provided a fictitious community that includes both urban and rural areas, suburban neighborhoods, and business and environmental interest groups—essentially a community with a broad and inclusive range of interests. If you wish to personalize Congresswoman Wright's district, you can use the community profile template to fill in your own district demographics.

Tables and pie charts show both revenue and expenditures for the federal government and the State of California. A table reviewing the federal debt from 1850 to 2000 is also included. The web site for the up-to-the-minute status of the national debt is http://www.brillig.com/debt_clock/. The federal revenue table includes income from excise taxes, estate and gift taxes, and customs duties. Excise taxes are applied to certain products and services—such as alcohol, tobacco, petroleum, and gambling—and are generally passed onto consumers. Estate and gift taxes are paid by the recipient on money or property given away during one's lifetime, or on money or property left to heirs at one's death. Customs duties are taxes paid on earnings or goods imported into the United States.



optional:
California
budget

Students are being asked to suggest who should take responsibility for the programs they recommend cutting from the federal budget. Students may be tempted to simply shift these programs onto the state. With this in mind, we have included expenditure and revenue information for the State of California, along with a brief explanation of how states cannot deficit spend in the same manner as the federal government. This information is optional and can be used if these issues are brought up by students. We have included California as an example. Use this as a model for showing other state budgets if you wish.

Explain to students that as a focus group they will be suggesting cuts from the defense and non-defense discretionary budget categories. These are the only two budget categories that Congress has the power to cut. In reviewing the federal pie charts, note that 2001 had a surplus, which was returned as a tax credit to the people. In the years immediately following, the surplus was gone. Instead, there was a deficit because of the economic downturn and the "War on Terrorism." This is an opportunity to eliminate many of the need to know questions related to the federal budget.

THE PROBLEM LOG

Throughout the problem, each student keeps a problem log, which will help the student and teacher follow the construction of knowledge. It chronicles how the student goes about solving the problem. The log can also serve as an important assessment of how students use problem-solving skills, develop new questions or "need to know" items, manage time and tasks, and work together. Logs should be checked periodically by the teacher to ensure that students stay focused on the underlying political issues.



first problem
log entry

The problem log can be introduced after the class does the initial know/need to know series and after the initial problem statement has been developed. At this point, students should be asked to start their problem logs by answering questions about the federal budget.

► **Potential Questions to Ask:** Congress has the “power of the purse” and yet over 60% of federal expenditures are mandatory. What does this tell you about the ability of Congress to control spending? What do you see on either the expenditure or revenue side of the budget that surprises you or leads you to conclude that reform is needed?



**memo and
budget
category
descriptions**

The next resource students receive is a third memo from Congresswoman Wright listing the budget categories being considered by Congress for cuts. Along with the memo is a description for each program and the expected effects of cutting the program. Review the memo and budget category descriptions with the whole class.



**assign
groups of six**

Break students into groups of six. This assignment works best if students of differing political and social values work in the same group. Assign each group member one of the six categories. We have printed the budget categories one to a page so students can divide the pages within the group.

As homework students are expected to become expert in their assigned category. They should read each of the program descriptions in their category carefully, and be able to discuss with their group what will happen if these programs are cut. They should come prepared with a list of who would pick up the costs of the federally cut programs — state governments, local governments, or community groups. To help students research these programs, we have included a list of web sites with each budget category. Remind students that government sites are generally more reliable than private sites, which may advocate for or against particular budget items.



**meet to
review**

Students meet in their groups to review each of the six categories of program cuts. Each group member reports on what will be cut in his or her assigned category, what the impacts will be if the programs are cut, and who could possibly take responsibility for the programs if they are cut. As part of the assignment, students can be asked to provide a one-page summary or list of facts about the programs and cuts for each of the six categories. Students can get this information from the “experts” in their groups.



**budget cuts
table and
rules**

Students are now given the “Table of Possible Budget Cuts Under Consideration by Congress,” which includes the specific dollar amounts to be cut from each program. Now that students have become experts on the specific programs, they can review how much each program costs the federal government and make decisions about which ones should be cut.

The table provides figures for 1% and 5% budget cuts and blank columns for recording proposed cuts. It also has a column for recording who will take responsibility for the program if it is cut by the federal government.

Remind students that the 5% cuts include programs listed under the 1% budget column as well. *In other words, 5% cuts are inclusive.* We have made the cuts inclusive to demonstrate how it can be necessary to give up something we want in order to get rid of something we don’t want. These inclusive cuts create a forced choice among competing values.



**revise
know/need
to know**

After reviewing the budget cuts table and budget category descriptions with the whole class, revisit the know/need to know list. Remember, you want to eliminate as much of the need to know list as soon as possible, so use the table and category descriptions to get some of this information. For example, students might list that they now know which programs will be cut and what effects this will have on specific groups of people. But they still need to know:

- **What is the federal government’s motivation for passing costs on to state and local governments?**
- **Can state and local governments afford these programs?**
- **Do we represent all the people in our congressional district?**



initial budget cuts

Have students make initial budget cuts individually. These budget cuts should be based solely upon what students think the federal government does not need to be funding.



who will be responsible

Have students determine who will be responsible for these programs if they are cut from the federal budget. Students must indicate what private entity or government body should take responsibility for the programs they cut. They can also claim that the program should not be funded by any group, private or public, provided that they can give a rational explanation for their point of view. To begin this portion of the unit, it may be helpful to identify what choices the students have, such as expecting the state to pick up the cost.



optional: mini-lecture on who will be responsible

An optional mini-lecture on who can or will be responsible for federally cut programs is provided in Appendix II. Students should not feel the need to go into great detail about groups they think should take on these programs. They do not have information about these groups and the time to do research is limited. The purpose of the exercise is to be able to identify which groups are traditionally expected to carry the burden of public goods in lieu of the federal government.

At this stage of the problem, students will be able to cut programs that do not align with their political priorities. The programs and their budgets are structured in such a way that both liberals and conservatives should be able to cut \$1 billion without having to eliminate programs they would prefer to support.



discuss student decisions

Discuss student decisions regarding program cuts and who will be responsible for these programs. This discussion can be carried out with the whole class. Students should justify their cuts based upon perceived need for the program and a recognition of what they consider essential work of the federal government. In an open discussion, students will begin to recognize differences of opinion within the class on the responsibilities of government. It is possible at this point to bring in the theories of Hobbes, Locke, and Burke (in Appendix II) regarding the essential function of government, and to discuss how these political philosophers differed in their thinking about the role of government.

Remember, in reviewing students' proposed cuts, discuss the ramifications beyond those that are immediately apparent. If veterans' support services are cut, how will that affect communities where these people live? If drug treatment programs are cut, how will this affect public safety, social service workers, or families of drug abusers? If we don't fund the building of weapons, what happens to the workers at those plants and the businesses they frequent?



second problem log entry

The problem log should be used after discussing the students' budget cuts. Students can write down the perceived positives and negatives about eliminating programs, and provide a detailed justification for their budget cuts.

► **Potential Questions to Ask:** Overall, who do you think would be helped by the cuts you proposed? Who do you think would be negatively affected? What is your detailed justification for your budget cuts?



memo

Students are now given the fourth memo from Congresswoman Wright. She tells them about concerns that arose in her district as a result of the focus group's recommended budget cuts. She wants to make sure she has included both liberals and conservatives in the focus group.



information sheet, definitions, and chart

The congresswoman asks focus group members to review the "Liberal and Conservative Information Sheet" and the "Definitions of Liberal and Conservative Groups." Students are then asked to complete the "Liberal and Conservative Points of View" chart.



**revise
know/need
to know**

Students should revisit the know/need to know list and identify any new information that will be needed to carry out the congresswoman's directive. This process of identifying the new information they need is the segue into the mini-lecture on liberal and conservative philosophy.



**mini-lecture
on liberal and
conservative
philosophies**

Prior to undertaking the task of determining liberal and conservative points of view, students will need to know about the history and current thinking of both philosophies. The mini-lecture, "A Brief History of Liberals and Conservatives," can be found in Appendix II. This material is meant to help teachers explain the origins of liberal and conservative thought, how these philosophies stem from people's beliefs in the purpose and function of human beings, and how they were transformed in the 19th and 20th centuries.



fill in chart

Once students are familiar with the basic notions of liberalism and conservatism, they can fill in the chart on liberal and conservative points of view and answer the question: "Do I tend to be liberal or conservative?" Students can work in their groups to complete the chart, with each group member taking responsibility for a specific number of issues. An overhead of the chart with its blank columns can

be used to demonstrate to the whole class the types of answers that should be filled into the blank spaces. Depending upon the level of the class, teachers can have students fill in "yes" and "no" in the columns indicating whether liberals or conservatives would or wouldn't support a program. These responses can then be reviewed with an overhead that has the narrative answers filled in. A completed version of the liberals and conservatives chart is included in Appendix III, and can be used to prompt students during this exercise. Regardless of how the chart is completed, the final exercise of highlighting the point of view that best suits each student should be done individually.

TEACHER KEY IS LOCATED IN APPENDIX III

► **Potential Hurdle:** Students may not have a point of view on all of the issues presented. It is not essential that they feel strongly about every issue. Some issues may be left without highlighting. Students may also find it difficult to separate Democrats from liberals and Republicans from conservatives. If this occurs, return students to the definitions of liberals and conservatives provided on the "Information Sheet."

Prompt students with a reminder that "moderate" is not an ideology, and that moderates can and do favor liberal or conservative points of view from one issue to the next. Moderates are not consistent—they vary by region of the country, and they represent loosely defined points of view. As a result, it is difficult to write a rationale for or even predict a moderate point of view. Take this as a teachable moment to demonstrate to students why "moderate" is not an ideology, and why liberalism and conservatism are based upon beliefs about the purpose of human beings and, therefore, the function of government. As such, liberals and conservatives will have identifiable stands on the issues.

In answering questions about military defense, remind students that both liberals and conservatives consider defense a federal government priority. The protection of citizens from outside threat is a fundamental role of the government. However, liberals and conservatives differ on the responsibility of the federal government to care for non-defense-related military expenses, such as the welfare of veterans. They also differ in their thinking about when it is appropriate to use military force.

In carrying out this exercise, it is important to respect students' rights to privacy about their political point of view. No one should be expected to publicly state a point of view if reluctant to do so.



memo

Once students have completed the chart, they receive a final memo from Congresswoman Wright. Students learn from this document that they must reach a compromise set of cuts, taking into account the needs and wants of both liberals and conservatives. They are also told that they must work in groups that represent both liberals and conservatives.

Decide ahead of time which students will be placed together, so there is representation of liberals and conservatives in each group. It is also possible to put students into like groups first and have them prioritize which programs liberals support and which ones conservatives support. They can then be broken into groups that represent both sides.



finalize know
list and
problem
statement

In any case, the final exercise requires mixed groups of liberals and conservatives in order to reach compromise and to experience working with the biases of others.

Once students have read the final memo they should revise the problem statement and know list for the final time. Students should be told that they will not receive any additional information on the need to know list.



final problem
log entry

The problem log can be used after students have read Congresswoman Wright's final memo. In it she reminds the students that she has promised to represent *all* members of her district. As a result, she feels compelled to support budget cuts that reflect the desires of both liberals and conservatives in her district. Mention to students that this conflict between competing needs and wants is a continuing concern in a representative system of government. The Constitution reflects this in its promotion of the common good on the one hand, and its protection of individual rights on the other. Budget setting debates are one way that representative governments weigh the needs and wants of one group against the needs and wants of another.

► **Potential Questions to Ask:** As a congressional representative, what are the difficulties inherent in trying to represent *all* members of a district? Because of your personal point of view, which areas of the budget do you think will take the most amount of compromising for you?



groups of four

Students are now placed into groups of four and given the final resource—the chart that calls for \$1 billion in budget cuts, and asks whether the proposed cuts will be supported by liberals or conservatives. At this point, students should raise any final questions they have about liberals and conservatives. This is the time to clear up misconceptions about the types of programs supported (or opposed) by liberals and conservatives.

► **Potential Hurdle:** In some schools liberals or conservatives may outnumber each other. As a result, it may not be possible to balance groups with two students representing each point of view. Nonetheless, groups of four should include at least one dissenting member. It is possible to create a dissenting member by providing each group with a “ringer”—someone brave and aggressive enough to take the less-popular point of view. This student should be given prompts and prepared in advance for the role.



**create
compromise
budget cuts**

EXIT FROM THE PROBLEM

Students in their working groups are asked to make budget cuts that reflect a compromise between the needs and wants of liberals and conservatives. Teachers should stress that *all* members of the group must participate and make their claims for cuts heard. One way to ensure this is to circulate among the groups during the exercise and ask specific students to identify the cuts they have proposed. It is this give-and-take that provides practice at using and defending liberal and conservative values. Remind students that they are preparing their plan for an elected representative, and that they must use appropriate terminology and accurate data. Congresswoman Wright will be presenting the plan she selects to a town hall meeting, and students must prepare a plan for consideration that is ideologically balanced and includes:

- **The dollar amounts of the cuts**
- **Who will be affected by the cuts**
- **Why their cuts will be supported or opposed by liberals and conservatives**

In some cases it might be too much to ask students to detail their thinking about every cut. Teachers can ask students to choose the three cuts they are most passionate about, those that were the most hotly debated, or the cuts they found the most difficult to make, and review these in detail. Teachers may also ask students to prioritize their cuts based upon the working group's view of the important jobs the federal government does. Or, students in their groups can be asked to choose the three largest cuts and explain their reasons for cutting these programs.

If possible, someone from outside the classroom with knowledge of the topic—such as a local elected official or another teacher or administrator—could play the role of Congresswoman Wright. She attends a briefing in which each group presents its budget cuts and the rationale for the cuts. The classroom teacher can also play the role of Congresswoman Wright. However, students tend to take their task more seriously when an unfamiliar adult will be hearing their presentations.

Another option is to have students participate in a debate. Each group prepares a budget and rationale, and distributes the material to the other groups for review. With Congresswoman Wright present, each group takes a turn explaining why their budget cuts are preferable—always in relation to pleasing both constituencies. Groups then discuss and debate specific cuts and differing opinions.



**scoring
guide**

A scoring guide is provided at www.bie.org to help the teacher assess the students' final budget cuts and their identification of liberal and conservative support. It can also be used to guide students in meeting the expectations of the assignment. Remind students that their point of view, whether liberal or conservative, is *not* what is graded but rather their ability to defend their stance with rational references to particular philosophical arguments.

When assessing students, remember that problem based learning is most effective when the students are placed in realistic situations. As a consequence, if students begin to alter the authenticity of the situation, the learning environment can easily be reduced to fun and games. This negates much of the validity of the technique and the knowledge gained from the unit. To prevent this digression, it should be stressed that responses must be accurate and reflect knowledge gathered from available resources. In other words, students cannot fabricate data and scenarios. They cannot give bogus answers to questions posed in the problem.

Students also must be coached to see that “I don’t know” is a legitimate answer to a question. This makes the classroom authentic. When presented with a problem outside the classroom, there often may be more information available but limited time to seek out resources. This is one of the lessons that problem based learning teaches. To enable students to gain this insight, they must learn to say they do not have the data to give an accurate answer to some questions that may arise in the unit. In other words, there are a limited number of answers because information is limited. *Students cannot make up answers. They must use the information that is provided.*



wrap-up and
debrief

WRAP-UP AND DEBRIEFING

It is critical that the wrap-up and debriefing section of the unit not be ignored. This is the part of the unit where students, as a class, reflect on the experience and are given feedback on both the process and content of the unit. *It is imperative that incorrect knowledge or statements be corrected at this point in the problem.* How the debriefing is conducted is less important than the fact that it is conducted.

Process Debriefing

It is key that students have a chance to discuss how they undertook the problem-solving process and how they felt about the process. This can be done with a series of questions, such as:

- Was it difficult to defend your point of view in a group with conflicting values?
- Were there strategies or arguments you left out that you wish you had used?
- Was it difficult when there was not one right answer to the problem?
- How did it feel to go through the problem without specific direction?

These questions can be used to help guide students toward a discussion about how the process helped them learn about the government's responsibility to citizens and about liberals and conservatives.

Content Debriefing

Recognizing competing needs and their basis in liberal and conservative thinking is an integral part of this problem. As such, it is important that students see that the budget process is often an exercise in meeting the needs and wants of factions that do not share common beliefs about the role of government.

Students should be asked about the more difficult elements of the problem:

- What are the most important differences between liberals and conservatives?
- How do beliefs about the nature of man and the purpose of human beings affect attitudes toward the role of government?
- Why can't the government meet the needs of all constituents?
- Did the process help clarify your perspective on the responsibilities of government?

❖ Do's and Don'ts

In reading through this problem, changes are bound to come to mind. In this section, we highlight changes that have worked—and those that have not worked. Please do not try the ideas that have failed, even though the temptation may be great!

Ideas to Try

The process of making budget cuts can help students appreciate the magnitude and impacts of the cuts.

A cut to one program can have a ripple effect on families, local and state governments, and nationwide interest groups. One way to reinforce this component of the unit is to have students research an example of how specific cuts would affect aggregate services.

A follow-up activity could be to have students use their research on a specific program or budget item to write a letter to their congressperson, explaining their stand on the program or budget item and asking the congressperson to respond explaining his or her stand on the issue. This writing/reflecting activity can help reinforce the importance of citizen participation in the legislative and budgeting process.

Ideas Not to Try

Students find the comparison of liberal and conservative ideologies difficult because they are abstract and have changed in dramatic ways over time. It is tempting but not wise to add a study of the Democratic and Republican parties to the confusion. The major parties often demonstrate liberal or conservative views. However, the propensity to lean toward liberal or conservative is not always consistent with the history or regional differences within the parties. Republicans from Northern California or New York City may be more liberal than Democrats from Kansas or Alabama. Richard Nixon's domestic policy may have been more liberal in some regards than Bill Clinton's domestic policy. It is best to wait until students have studied liberal and conservative ideologies and are well-grounded in the origins and current thinking of these groups before launching into a study of the major political parties.

We would also caution against changing the list of programs considered for budget cuts. The list attempts to include a balance between programs supported by liberals and conservatives. Initially, students can cut programs that do not support their political priorities. There will likely be \$1 billion worth of cuts that students are comfortable cutting. However, in the final stages of the project, when working in a group that represents both liberals and conservatives, they will need to cut programs that they support. Changing the list may throw off the balance between programs supported by liberals and those supported by conservatives.



Appendix I:

Student Handouts



HONORABLE NANCY WRIGHT

TO: Constituent Focus Group

FROM: Congresswoman Nancy Wright

REGARDING: Budget Planning

Thank you so much for coming today to help us decide next year's budget for our federal government. As you well know, the current economic forecast suggests that we will suffer serious deficits at the end of this fiscal year. In planning next year's budget, Congress is considering major cuts to discretionary expenditures.

Given the impact these projected cuts will have, I know my constituents would like a say in what will be cut and by how much. I made a commitment during my campaign that, if elected, I would represent *all* the people of my district. Therefore, as members of my congressional district, I have asked you here today to give me feedback on some of the cuts currently being considered by Congress.

I know that you are as concerned as I am about our ever-growing debt. This is not the time to promote a bigger budget, nor is it the time to raise taxes. We need a better budget that addresses the most pressing problems that only the federal government can handle and actually solve. We want to maintain a sound federal government without raising taxes or going further into debt.

It is time to look to families, communities, and state government to take on certain problems and programs. I want you to tell me who you think should take responsibility for these programs if they are cut by the federal government.

You can begin this process by reviewing the 2001 and 2002 federal budget tables. These figures will help explain what we have the power to cut and what we can't cut.

Thank you for your help. I am looking forward to your suggestions.



HONORABLE NANCY WRIGHT

TO: Constituent Focus Group

FROM: Congresswoman Nancy Wright

REGARDING: Budget Planning

I thought an understanding of our district and who I represent would help you make better budget cuts. Therefore, I am including a community profile with this memo.

I have also attached the federal budget figures for your review. These figures show 2001 and 2002 income and expenditures, and will help explain what we have the power to cut and what we can't cut.

After you have reviewed this data, my assistant will provide you with a list of discretionary programs that Congress is considering reducing by either 1% or 5%. Our goal is to reduce total expenditures for these discretionary programs by \$1 billion.

Attachments

CONGRESSWOMAN NANCY WRIGHT'S DISTRICT: COMMUNITY PROFILE

In the early part of the 20th century, this community was a major part of the state's agribusiness. The rich farmland of the area supports agriculture as varied as corn, fruit trees, and a variety of specialty vegetables.

In recent years, many new businesses have moved into the area. In the last year alone, 17 national and international companies opened offices here. Industry includes chemical production and manufacture of automobile parts. In addition, finance corporations such as insurance companies and banks have found a ready supply of professional, college-educated workers in the community. A federal women's prison is also located in the district.

The community is a haven for the outdoor enthusiast. The Lakes Area offers boating, fishing, water skiing, sailing, and restaurants catering to water sports. In recent years, retirees have moved to the community because of the many outdoor activities—including community golf courses—and the low cost of living relative to the rest of the state.

Opportunities to enjoy music, theater, dance, literary events, and other cultural and entertainment activities are always at hand at the state university campus, local community college, and a growing number of theater, music, and dance companies. The community has three major performing arts theaters and an outdoor music amphitheater.

The major city in the area has a population of approximately 237,000 people, with roughly 60% white (non-Hispanic), 18% Hispanic, 10% African American, 5% Asian, and 7% "Other."

The remainder of the district's population is spread out between enclaves of suburban housing developments and rural farmlands. Suburban areas house many young families with school-age children, while the central city and farmlands tend to attract older populations. The district's total population is approximately 490,000.

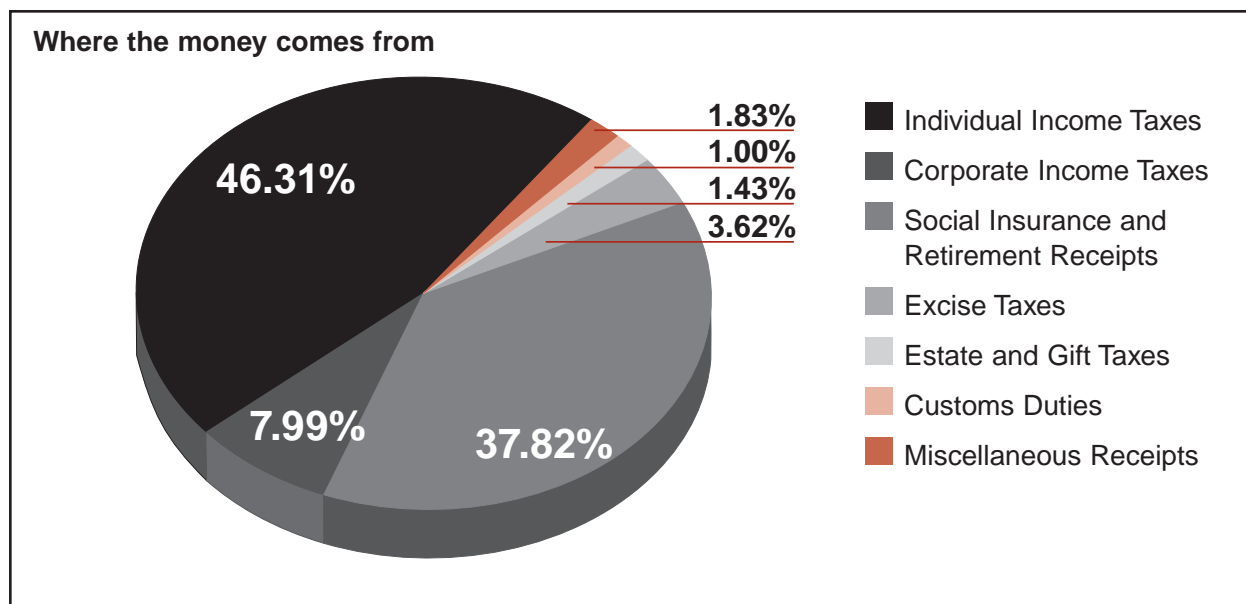
In 2000 the district was designated an All-America Community. Each year 100 communities from across the country are considered for this prestigious recognition. The district received the award for work done in the community to create new jobs, reduce crime, improve the environment of the Lakes Area, and revitalize the downtown area. These accomplishments were the result of cooperative efforts by citizens, community leaders, and government to improve the quality of life.

THE FEDERAL BUDGET

Revenue: Where the Money Comes From

In order to pay for programs and services, the federal government raises money from the following sources:

Sources	In billions of dollars		Percent of Total 2002
	2001	2002	
Individual Income Taxes	994.3	858.3	46.31%
Corporate Income Taxes	151.1	148.0	7.99%
Social Insurance and Retirement Receipts	693.9	700.8	37.82%
Excise Taxes	66.0	67.0	3.62%
Estate and Gift Taxes	28.4	26.5	1.43%
Customs Duties	19.3	18.6	1.00%
Miscellaneous Receipts	37.8	33.9	1.83%
Total Receipts	1,990.8	1,853.1	100%



Explanation of Categories:

Social Insurance and Retirement Receipts = Payroll taxes on annual earnings used to fund unemployment, retirement, survivor's benefits, disability, and hospital insurance.

Excise Taxes = Taxes applied to certain products and services (e.g., alcohol, tobacco, petroleum, gambling), and generally paid by consumers.

Estate and Gift Taxes = Taxes paid on money or property given away during one's lifetime or left to heirs at one's death.

Customs Duties = Taxes paid on earnings or goods imported into the United States.

Miscellaneous Receipts = Federal Reserve earnings, fines, penalties, and forfeitures.

For more information on these tax categories, see:

<http://www.irs.gov/taxstats>

For a glossary of terms used in the federal budget tables, see:

<http://w3.access.gpo.gov/usbudget/fy2004/pdf/budget/glossary.pdf>

Expenditures: Where the Money Goes

What the government spends can be divided into two major categories: discretionary and mandatory expenditures.

Discretionary

- Discretionary expenditures are monies that Congress has the power to cut if it chooses.
- Discretionary spending covers a wide variety of government functions, including national defense, education, environmental protection, law enforcement, research, international aid, and government operations.

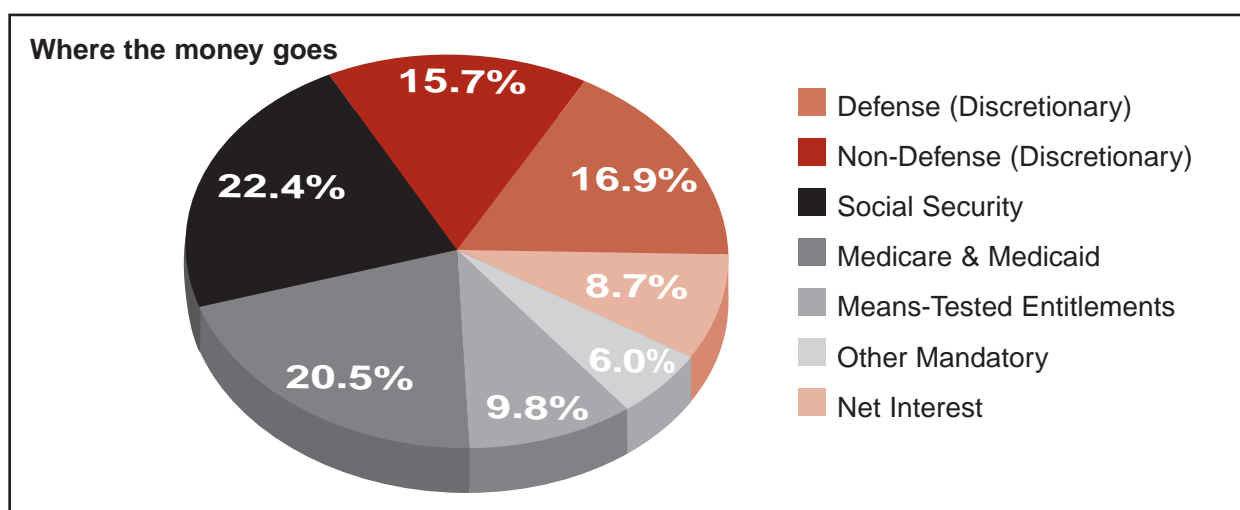
Mandatory

- Mandatory spending includes entitlement programs like Social Security, Medicare, Medicaid, and interest payments on the federal debt.
- Congress is obligated to spending levels on these mandatory programs based on factors that are beyond its direct control.

The federal government pays for the following services and programs:

Services and Programs	In billions of dollars		Percent of Total 2002
	2001	2002	
Defense (Discretionary)	308.5	347.9	16.9%
Non-Defense (Discretionary)	274.9	323.5	15.7%
Social Security	433.1	459.6	22.4%
Medicare and Medicaid	390.0	421.6	20.5%
Means-Tested Entitlements*	134.3	200.4	9.8%
Other Mandatory	117.0	121.0	6.0%
Net Interest	206.1	178.3	8.7%
Total Outlays	1,863.9	2,052.3	100%
Total Receipts	1,990.8	1,853.1	
Surplus or Deficit	126.9	-199.2	

*These entitlements base qualification upon minimum income and include such programs as Temporary Aid to Needy Families (TANF).



For more information about the federal budget and for updated figures, consult the following federal budget web sites:

<http://w3.access.gpo.gov/usbudget/>

<http://www.brook.edu/gs/cps/cutgov.htm>

<http://www.ncpa.org/pd/budget/budget-7.htm/>

<http://www.publicdebt.treas.gov/opd/opdpenny.htm>

For a pdf version of the current year budget, see:

<http://w3.access.gpo.gov/usbudget/fy2003/pdf/budget.pdf>

To review the 2003 fiscal year budget, see:

<http://w3.access.gpo.gov/usbudget/fy2003/budget.html>

For a history of the federal debt, go to:

<http://www.publicdebt.treas.gov/opd/opd.htm#/history>

UNITED STATES DEBT*

1850 – 2000

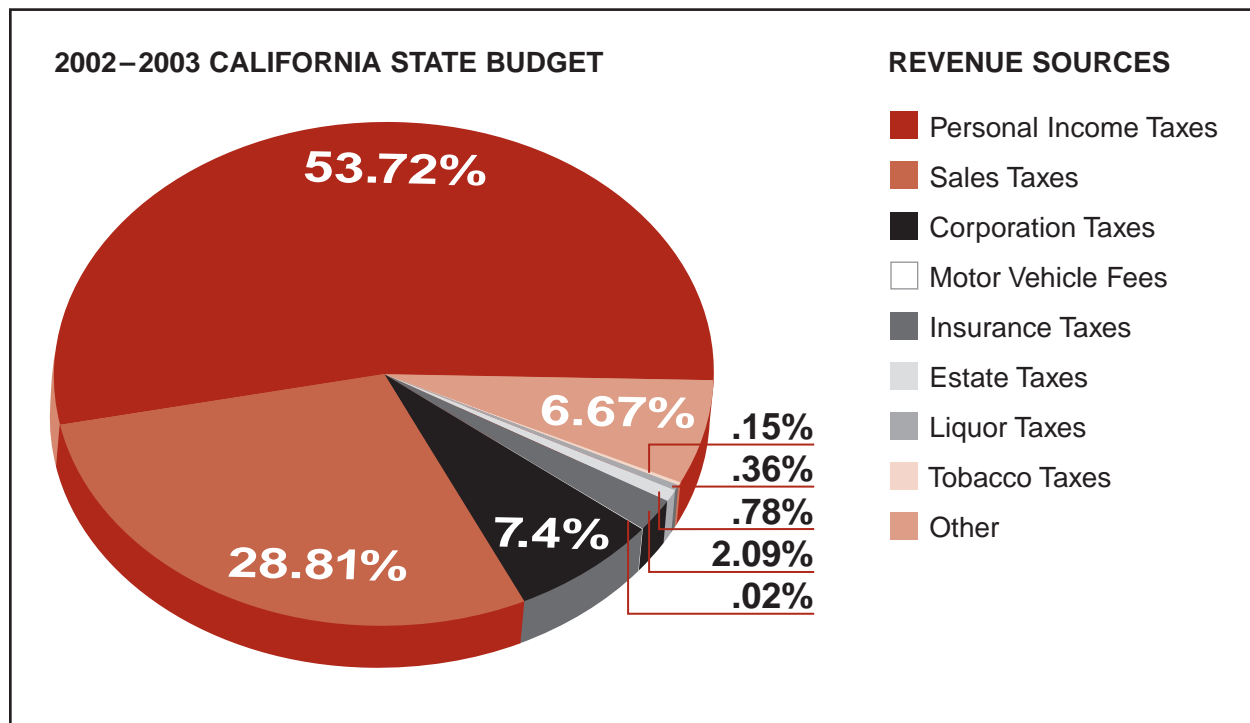
Date	Amount
7/1/1850	63,452,774
7/1/1855	35,586,957
7/1/1860	64,842,288
7/1/1865	2,680,647,869
7/1/1870	2,480,672,428
7/1/1875	2,232,284,532
7/1/1880	2,120,415,371
7/1/1885	1,863,964,873
7/1/1890	1,552,140,205
7/1/1895	1,676,120,983
7/1/1900	2,136,961,092
7/1/1905	2,274,615,064
7/1/1910	2,652,665,838
7/1/1915	3,058,136,873
7/1/1920	25,952,456,406
7/1/1925	20,516,193,888
7/1/1930	16,801,281,492
7/1/1935	28,700,892,625
7/1/1940	42,967,531,038
7/1/1945	258,682,187,410
7/1/1950	257,357,352,351
7/1/1955	280,768,553,189
7/1/1960	290,216,815,242
7/1/1965	320,904,110,042
7/1/1970	389,158,403,690
7/1/1975	576,649,000,000
7/1/1980	930,210,000,000
7/1/1985	1,945,941,616,460
7/1/1990	3,233,313,451,777
7/1/1995	4,973,982,900,709
7/1/2000	5,674,178,209,887

* In nominal dollars

For an up-to-the-day figure on the debt, see the U.S. National Debt Clock at:
http://www.brillig.com/debt_clock

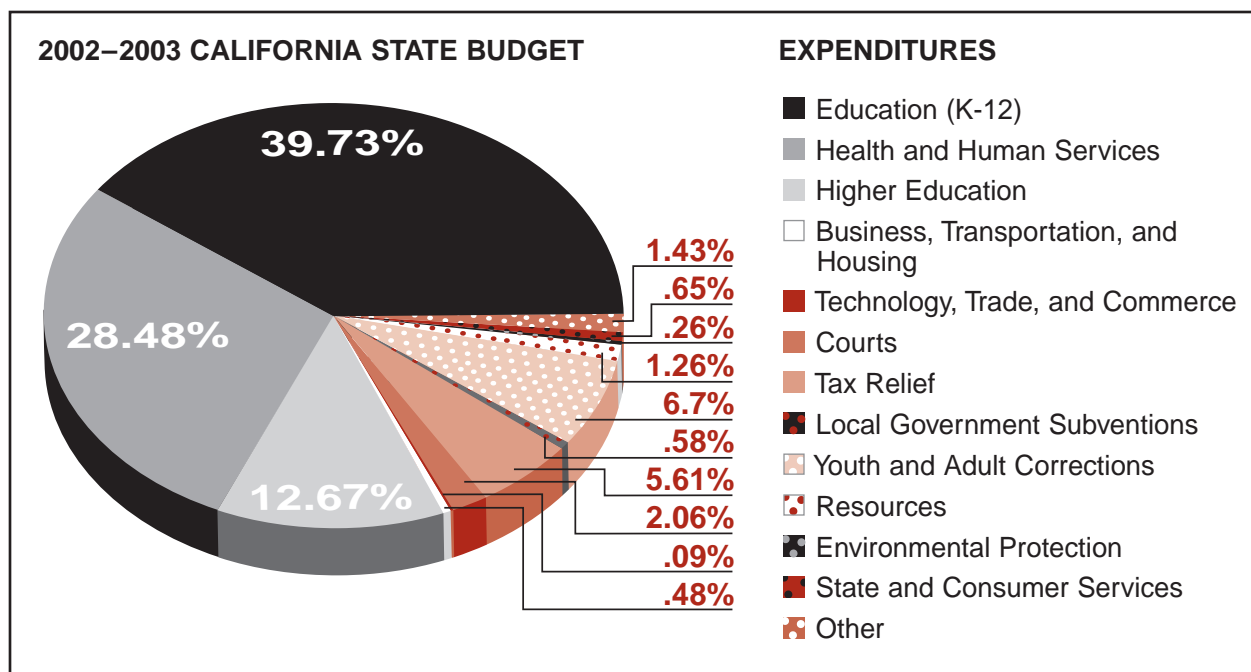
2002–2003 CALIFORNIA STATE BUDGET REVENUE SOURCES

Function	Dollars in millions General Fund	Percent of Total
Personal Income Taxes	42,605	53.72%
Sales Taxes	22,850	28.81%
Corporation Taxes	5,869	7.40%
Motor Vehicle Fees	16	.02%
Insurance Taxes	1,656	2.09%
Estate Taxes	615	.78%
Liquor Taxes	282	.36%
Tobacco Taxes	122	.15%
Other	5,290	6.67%
Total	79,305	
Prior Year Balance	1,485	
Total Resources Available	80,790	100%



2002–2003 CALIFORNIA STATE BUDGET EXPENDITURES

Function	Dollars in millions General Fund	Percent of Total
Education (K-12)	31,316	39.73%
Health and Human Services	22,441	28.48%
Higher Education	9,985	12.67%
Business, Transportation, and Housing	378	.48%
Technology, Trade, and Commerce	72	.09%
Courts	1,622	2.06%
Tax Relief	4,423	5.61%
Local Government Subventions	461	.58%
Youth and Adult Corrections	5,274	6.70%
Resources	993	1.26%
Environmental Protection	203	.26%
State and Consumer Services	513	.65%
Other	1,125	1.43%
Total	78,806	100%



DEFICIT SPENDING AT THE STATE AND FEDERAL LEVELS

The federal government can deficit spend in a number of ways. It can print more money, borrow from other funds (such as Social Security), or issue Treasury bills. States, on the other hand, do not have such a luxury. If they wish to deficit spend, they must either issue state bonds or turn to lending institutions.

Lenders charge the state an interest rate on their investment, much like a bank charges a homeowner interest on a home loan. Borrowing from lending institutions is a common state budgetary solution. If a state does not wish to borrow, it can issue state bonds, which can be bought by any investor. Bonds are issued with a price per bond, a length of time for which the bond will be used, and an interest rate it will pay. Bond ratings are dictated by investor confidence in the state's ability to pay off its debt. The higher the risk that the state will not repay its bonds, the higher the interest rate.

As an example, the California state government issues two kinds of bonds: general obligation bonds and revenue bonds. General obligation bonds fund specific projects and require voter approval in a general election. They usually have lower interest rates than revenue bonds. Revenue bonds are issued by the state without voter approval, and usually fund "unpopular" projects likely to be voted down in a general election. Prisons, for example, are often funded with revenue bonds.

Because a state must rely on private investors, it must act more prudently than the federal government. If a state defaults on several of its bonds or capital investments, there can be long-term negative ramifications for the state because investors will be unwilling to lend to that state.

State investments in roads, bridges, school construction, and the like are generally not subject to budget balancing requirements. They can be, and generally are, financed through bonds or other borrowing measures. Borrowing for such longer-term projects is widely regarded as a sound practice at the state level because such investments are designed to yield long-term benefits that can strengthen state economies.

Nearly half the states allow deficits in their operating budgets, either to be carried forward to the next year or to be covered through borrowing. Some of the nation's largest states carry debt, including California, Illinois, Michigan, New York, and Pennsylvania. Many state constitutions require a balanced budget, but they do not preclude the state from carrying debt. This begs the question, how can a state constitutionally mandate a balanced budget and also carry debt?

Balancing the budget simply means that the state has sufficient revenue to meet operating expenses and pay the interest on the debt. Overall, if budgets are measured over a period of years rather than on a single-year basis, most states keep their operating budgets in rough balance.



HONORABLE NANCY WRIGHT

TO: Constituent Focus Group
 FROM: Congresswoman Nancy Wright
 REGARDING: Six Budget Categories

Congress has suggested making cuts to several specific programs within six areas of our discretionary budget. Attached you will find descriptions for each program and the expected effects of 1% and 5% budget cuts. The targeted programs are:

- I. Military Spending
 - A. Machinery, Equipment, Weapons, and Armor
 - B. Research, Development
 - C. Nuclear Weapons Activities
 - D. Veterans Education, Training, and Rehabilitation
- II. Science, Space, and Technology
 - A. National Science Foundation Programs
 - B. Department of Energy General Science Programs
 - C. Pollution Control and Abatement
- III. Education, Training, Employment, and Social Services
 - A. Elementary and Secondary Schools
 - B. Social Services
 - C. Foster Care and Adoption Assistance
- IV. Non-Medicare Health Spending
 - A. Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services
 - B. Consumer and Occupational Health and Safety
- V. Social Welfare Spending
 - A. School-Related Programs
 - B. Family Support Payments
- VI. Administration of Justice
 - A. Department of Justice
 - B. Federal Prison Activities

Attachments

DESCRIPTIONS OF BUDGET CATEGORIES AND THE EFFECTS OF BUDGET CUTS ON FEDERAL PROGRAMS

The following list includes some of the spending areas of the federal budget. The list is not inclusive but covers six categories that Congress is currently reviewing. These programs are critical to the function of government. They provide service, regulate industry and people, redistribute wealth, support economic development, and provide safety and protection both inside and outside the United States.

In spite of the importance of these programs, the federal government has not raised sufficient revenue to continue supporting them at the current funding rate. Consequently, certain areas of spending must be reduced. We are asking you to recommend either 1% or 5% cuts to these programs. Remember, the federal budget is extremely large, so what appears to be a small cut of 1% will have major consequences.

I. MILITARY SPENDING

A. Machinery, Equipment, Weapons, and Armor — This category of military spending is devoted to maintaining state-of-the-art military equipment and weaponry used for any war or peacekeeping mission. It is crucial to maintaining the safety and effectiveness of our soldiers throughout the world.

1% Cut — This would cancel a new military body armor prototype intended for use by all soldiers currently serving in the “War on Terrorism.” The armor is lighter than the current flak jacket, can stop a larger-caliber bullet, and is projected to reduce casualty rates by 5% to 10%. (\$70 million cut)

5% Cut — In addition to the \$70 million, 1% cut, this \$280 million budget cut would eliminate production of one of the Army's prototype land-based artillery pieces currently in design phase. Halting production of this weapon would affect military readiness as well as private manufacturers who are set to produce the weapon. (\$70 million + \$280 million = \$350 million total, 5% cut)

B. Research and Development — This area of research and development (R&D) focuses on designing and creating new weapons and defense systems, including communications systems, vehicles, weapons, radar systems, air defense, drug research, and biological warfare research. R&D also works to improve or modify weaponry to make it appropriate for a multitude of settings. Military operations often take place in harsh conditions, and weapons need to be versatile to meet the needs of each mission and its unique environment.

1% Cut — This would eliminate funding for weapons and munitions technology R&D, and would limit the military's ability to modify weaponry and munitions. Although this R&D can be done in the private sector and the products sold on the commercial market, there is no guarantee that munitions manufacturers would meet military standards. As a result, cutting this program could seriously hamper the versatility of particular weapons, and could endanger the lives and safety of military personnel. (\$35 million cut)

5% Cut — In addition to the \$35 million, 1% cut, this \$140 million cut would affect three programs. It would eliminate development of medical equipment for use in combat. It would also cut development of the Global Surveillance/Air Defense/Precision Strike Systems and development of the Common Missile Defense System. Common missiles are non-nuclear and make up the bulk of missiles used by the military. (\$35 million + \$140 million = \$175 million total, 5% cut)

C. Nuclear Weapons Activities — This department controls all defense systems, military installations, communications, and guidance systems related to nuclear weapons. It also controls all diplomatic and nuclear oversight committees.

1% Cut — A 1% cut would prevent placement of perimeter fences around nuclear facilities to insulate them from terrorist attack. This cut would also eliminate a Department of Energy program intended to reduce bomb-grade plutonium currently stored in substandard facilities. The program, if funded, would ensure that terrorists could not steal plutonium for use in making “dirty bombs.” (\$50 million cut)

5% Cut — In addition to the \$50 million, 1% cut, this \$200 million cut would trim the Department of Energy’s request for security improvements at nuclear facilities across the nation, and it would eliminate the Cyber-Threat Reduction Program. (\$50 million + \$200 million = \$250 million total, 5% cut)

D. Veterans Education, Training, and Rehabilitation — The Veterans Administration oversees a host of government services for its retired military personnel, including medical expenses, job training, scholarships for children of veterans, housing, and rehabilitation services.

1% Cut — This would eliminate \$10 million in funding for the Children of United States Veterans of War Educational Scholarship Fund. These merit scholarships are allocated to children of war veterans for college tuition. Second, \$15 million would be trimmed from the Substance Abuse and Mental Depression Treatment Center for Veterans in Washington, D.C. This treatment center provides psychological and medical care for soldiers who have developed drug problems or mental health issues due to the strains of war and military duty. (\$25 million cut)

5% Cut — In addition to the \$25 million, 1% cut, \$50 million would be taken from the Veterans Federal Land Acquisition Fund. This fund is charged with buying federal lands that will be devoted to veteran housing and rehabilitation and medical facilities. Second, \$50 million would be cut from veteran medical expenses, which help reimburse HMOs and local hospitals for the cost of treating veteran patients. (\$25 million + \$100 million = \$125 million total, 5% cut)

Web Sites for Military Spending

To find out how much the U.S. government spends on the military, visit:
<http://www.cdi.org/dm/2002/>

To learn about the Department of Defense budget, go to:
<http://www.defenselink.mil/sites/b.html#budget>

To see how 2000 federal taxes support current and past military activities, link to the Friends Committee on National Legislation site at:
http://www.fcnl.org/issues/mil/sup/mil_taxsuprt.htm

II. SCIENCE, SPACE, AND TECHNOLOGY

A. National Science Foundation Programs — The National Science Foundation (NSF) manages government programs dedicated to scientific discovery and exploration, including academic and laboratory research and engineering programs. NSF is also in charge of museums, learning centers, and grants to public institutions.

1% Cut — A 1% cut would force NSF to shut down its EarthScope Project, which is designed to place advanced earthquake detection technologies throughout the United States. This project is intended to create a tectonic research network that will allow scientists to monitor any seismic activity and would be a key early warning system for seismic and volcanic activity in North America. (\$25 million cut)

5% Cut — In addition to the \$25 million, 1% cut, this would eliminate the \$75 million Plant Genome Research Project, which is geared to mapping the genome of all plant life and may provide key advances in agriculture and nutrition. In addition, this cut would eliminate the \$25 million Terascale Computing System, which if maintained, will yield the most detailed topographical survey of North America to date. (\$25 million + \$100 million = \$125 million total, 5% cut)

B. Department of Energy General Science Programs — This department controls all federal power plants, power lines, oil pipelines, and hydroelectric dams. It oversees the creation of new sources of power and better, cleaner ways of maintaining our current sources of power.

1% Cut — A 1% cut would cancel the Department of Energy's order for a new HP Linux-based supercomputer. This \$25 million computer would be the most powerful of its kind in the world. Many of the features of this supercomputer are not currently sold in the commercial market. Once developed, however, this technology can be used in the private sector. (\$25 million cut)

5% Cut — In addition to the \$25 million, 1% cut, this would eliminate \$100 million in federal subsidies to energy corporations. Estimates of corporate subsidies range from \$17 billion to \$51 billion a year. Energy accounts for almost \$11 billion of these subsidies, of which mature, conventional energy sources such as coal and oil receive about 90%. (\$25 million + \$100 million = \$125 million total, 5% cut)

C. Pollution Control and Abatement — These programs provide pollution control, manage government lands, and coordinate ecological disaster relief. They include the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA), National Park Service, and Department of the Interior.

1% Cut — A cut to this category would eliminate research programs intended to develop technologies to combat, control, and clean up bioterrorist attacks. (\$75 million cut)

5% Cut — In addition to the \$75 million, 1% cut, this would eliminate several EPA programs. The first is \$125 million allotted to the Brownfields Clean-up Program, which pays for clean-up and deconstruction of abandoned industrial sites. Another \$40 million for renovation of EPA facilities would be eliminated. Finally, the EPA would have to cut \$135 million from its Inspector General Fund, which pays for inspections of industrial, commercial, residential, and federally owned areas. This would greatly decrease the ability of the EPA to find habitual polluters and to locate and clean up potential environmental trouble spots. (\$75 million + \$300 million = \$375 million total, 5% cut)

Web Sites for Science, Space, and Technology

To learn more about the programs funded by this section, visit the web sites for NASA, the National Science Foundation, and the Environmental Protection Agency, respectively at:

<http://www.nasa.gov>

<http://www.nsf.gov>

www.epa.gov

III. EDUCATION, TRAINING, EMPLOYMENT, AND SOCIAL SERVICES

- A. Elementary and Secondary Schools** — This program provides a variety of services to state and local school systems, including teacher training, R&D of innovative teaching programs, improvements in school use of technology, innovative science and math curricula, and testing services.

1% Cut — This would force the elimination of a professional development program in early childhood education. This program funds teacher training and exposes teachers to exemplary scholastic programs for young children. (\$15 million cut)

5% Cut — In addition to the \$15 million, 1% cut, this would eliminate the \$60 million P.E. for Progress Program. This program is designed to get overweight and underexercised American children into better shape. (\$15 million + \$60 million = \$75 million total, 5% cut)

- B. Social Services** — Welfare, disabilities services, youth programs, protective agencies, and many other social programs are funded through this budget. Some of these funds are given to the states as block grants, which are usually split among several departments and services at the state or county level.

1% Cut — This would come from the Perkins Loans, which indirectly provide funds to more than 2,000 colleges and universities nationwide. Thousands of American students who wish to attend undergraduate or graduate school depend upon Perkins Loans to pay for tuition, books, and room and board. (\$50 million cut)

5% Cut — In addition to the \$50 million, 1% cut, a 5% cut to social service block grants would affect a variety of programs. A \$75 million allocation to fight homelessness would be eliminated. The homelessness project seeks to find ways to get homeless people into permanent residences. The Department of Education would lose \$75 million intended for the School Violence Prevention Program. This program was created after the Columbine High School shootings, and is a research/public awareness program to study school violence and how to prevent it. Finally, \$50 million in federal funding for dental and medical screening for poor children would be eliminated. (\$50 million + \$200 million = \$250 million total, 5% cut)

- C. Foster Care and Adoption Assistance** — This program helps pay for state-run foster care programs, and provides funding to promote and publicize adoption and to offset the costs of adoption. These funds subsidize state foster care and adoption systems, and provide direct payments to foster care parents.

1% Cut — This would eliminate the Childcare for Tribal Lands Fund. Cutting this program would deprive many foster children on tribal lands of adequate healthcare and basic assistance. (\$50 million cut)

5% Cut — In addition to the \$50 million, 1% cut, this would eliminate \$200 million of the block grant for Foster Care and Adoption Assistance. As a result, funds provided to states for promoting adoption would be cut. Currently, states can use this federal funding for promotional materials, advertising, and prenatal health care to discourage women from having abortions and to encourage them to put the infant up for adoption instead. This adoption-not-abortion program would be cut. (\$50 million + \$200 million = \$250 million total, 5% cut)

Web Sites for Education, Training, Employment, and Social Services

To see the Department of Education budget for 2003, go to:
<http://ed.gov/offices/OUS/Budget03/Summary/index.html>

To learn about federally funded employment and training programs, visit:
<http://www.doleta.gov/programs/adtrain.asp>

To learn more about the federal grants for children and families, link to:
<http://www.acf.dhhs.gov/grants.html>

For information on the Center for Budget and Policy Priorities, visit:
<http://www.cbpp.org/>

IV. NON-MEDICARE HEALTH SPENDING

A. Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services — The federal government plays an active role in researching, diagnosing, and treating drug addiction and in treating the mentally ill. It supports a number of mental health facilities and drug treatment centers nationwide.

1% Cut — This would cut \$25 million from a \$150 million program designed to ensure that patients in federal mental institutions are effectively treated for their illnesses. Corruption and malaise are two recurring issues in federal mental institutions. This program provides federal oversight and enforceable punishments for abusing or neglecting mentally ill patients. This cut would reduce oversight of federal mental facilities. (\$25 million cut)

5% Cut — In addition to the \$25 million, 1% cut, \$100 million would be cut from the D.A.R.E. anti-drug program. D.A.R.E. has long been a centerpiece in educating the nation's youth about the dangers of drug abuse. This cut would eliminate the campaign against under-age drinking in America's high schools. Recent statistics show that teen alcohol use is on the rise, and unfortunately, so are alcohol-related teen deaths. (\$25 million + \$100 million = \$125 million total, 5% cut)

B. Consumer and Occupational Health and Safety — This budget item is dedicated primarily to the Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA). OSHA pays for health and safety inspectors, is in charge of reducing hazards that threaten workers and citizens, and compensates victims of consumer crimes and occupational accidents in which federal compensation is deemed necessary.

1% Cut — This would come from the budget of OSHA and, in particular, the National Institute for Occupational Safety and Health (NIOSH). This institute performs invaluable research about job hazards, safety risks, and deadly chemicals and materials. Without the research and dissemination services of this program, thousands of workers are at risk for work-related injuries and death. (\$25 million cut)

5% Cut — In addition to the \$25 million, 1% cut, this \$100 million cut would drastically curtail OSHA outreach activities, which are dedicated to providing the public with health and safety compliance assistance, including training and information. Outreach services are designed to educate the public about safety standards and to inform the public about how occupational health risks, such as asbestos, are being addressed by the federal government. (\$25 million + \$100 million = \$125 million total, 5% cut)

Web Sites for Non-Medicare Health Spending

For information on federally funded substance abuse programs, visit:
<http://www.unm.edu/~craft/>

For an excellent resource on occupational safety, link to:
<http://www.osha.gov/as/opa/oshafacts.html>

V. SOCIAL WELFARE SPENDING

A. School-Related Programs — Non-education-related school programs — including school busing, school healthcare, teacher recruitment, and nutrition — are under consideration for budget cuts.

1% Cut — This would be made to the public elementary school breakfast program, eliminating the free breakfast for non-poverty school children. (\$15 million cut)

5% Cut — In addition to the \$15 million, 1% cut, this \$60 million cut would reduce federal subsidies to high school sports programs for uniforms, safety equipment, and travel. (\$15 million + \$60 million = \$75 million total, 5% cut)

B. Family Support Payments — Family support payments go to more than 4.9 million families who fall below the poverty line and affect 14.2 million recipients. Families currently receive approximately \$383 per month.

1% Cut — This would eliminate funding of the St. Charles Family Relief Agency, a federally subsidized agency that provides financial assistance to local families who fall under the state's poverty line. The cut would mean that 28% of families currently receiving aid would be denied assistance. (\$20 million cut)

5% Cut — In addition to the \$20 million, 1% cut, this would eliminate an \$80 million block grant to the state for family support payments. The burden of the cut would be shared equally by each county in the state, without regard to population or number of families in need. (\$20 million + \$80 million = \$100 million total, 5% cut)

Web Sites for Social Welfare Spending

To learn more about federal funds for family support and how to obtain federal grants, link to:
<http://www.cfda.gov/public/viewprog.asp?progid=1269>

To see the federal budget for school breakfast and lunch programs, visit:
<http://www.heritage.org/mandate/budget/pdf/600/605schoolslunch.pdf>

For more information on the school lunch program itself, go to:
<http://www.fns.usda.gov/cnd/Lunch/default.htm>

VI. ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE

A. Department of Justice — This fund allocates money for all federal-level policing departments, including the Drug Enforcement Administration (DEA), Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), and Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, Firearms and Explosives (ATF). Funding includes department payroll, equipment, facilities, training, and investigations, and provides technological improvements for monitoring criminal behavior and apprehending criminals.

1% Cut — A 1% cut from the Department of Justice would eliminate the \$23 million Missing Children Fund, which conducts nationwide searches for missing children. The cut would also discontinue the \$27 million National Drug Intelligence Center, which was developed to help fight the “War on Drugs.” (\$50 million cut)

5% Cut — In addition to the \$50 million, 1% cut, this would eliminate the \$200 million Department of Justice program intended to root out terrorist organizations within the United States. (\$50 million + \$200 million = \$250 million total, 5% cut)

B. Federal Prison Activities — There are 125 federal prisons in the United States, with about 80,000 inmates and 25,000 employees. It costs roughly \$20,000 annually to keep one person in prison.

1% Cut — Work-release and continuing education programs would be eliminated from some federal prisons, including the one located in our district. (\$50 million cut)

5% Cut — In addition to the \$50 million, 1% cut, a proposed \$150 million in federal prison construction would be halted. This would affect prison construction from Virginia to California, and would prevent remodeling as well as several large-scale construction projects. The cut would also eliminate \$50 million in salary and benefit expenses for prison staff and the policing agencies that run federal prisons. As many as 1,200 jobs are at risk. (\$50 million + \$200 million = \$250 million total, 5% cut)

Web Sites for Administration of Justice

To see the Department of Justice budget, go to:
http://www.usdoj.gov/02organizations/02_3.html

Or visit:
<http://www.usdoj.gov/jmd/2003summary/pdf/2003%20SUMMARY%20BY%20%20APPROP%20%2001-31-02%20FINAL.pdf>

For more information on the FBI, link to:
<http://www.fbi.gov>

To learn about the recent increase in prison spending, go to:
<http://abcnews.go.com/sections/us/DailyNews/prisoneducaton980707.html>

Table of Possible Budget Cuts Under Consideration by Congress

Federal funding for the programs being considered for budget cuts total \$60,500,000,000 (\$60.5 billion). Our goal is to reduce the budget by \$1 billion. The following table will help in determining which cuts you think should be made. The cuts should be based upon:

- Your perceived need for the program
- The dollar amounts saved by cutting the program
- Who you think could take responsibility for the program if federal funding were reduced

PROPOSED BUDGET CUTS					
If you cut 5%, you are cutting the 1% programs as well					
Budget Category	Current Budget (in \$ Billions)	1% Cut (in \$ Millions)	5% Cut (in \$ Millions)	Your Suggested Cuts (by 1% or 5%)	Who will be responsible for this program? If no one, what will be the consequence?
I. Military Spending					
A. Machinery, Equipment, Weapons, and Armor	7	70	350		
B. Research and Development	3.5	35	175		
C. Nuclear Weapons Activities	5	50	250		
D. Veterans Education, Training, and Rehabilitation	2.5	25	125		
II. Science, Space, and Technology					
A. National Science Foundation Programs	2.5	25	125		
B. Department of Energy General Science Programs	2.5	25	125		
C. Pollution Control and Abatement	7.5	75	375		

Budget Category	Current Budget (in \$ Billions)	1% Cut (in \$ Millions)	5% Cut (in \$ Millions)	Your Suggested Cuts (by 1% or 5%)	Who will be responsible for this program? If no one, what will be the consequence?
III. Education, Training, Employment, and Social Services					
A. Elementary and Secondary Schools	1.5	15	75		
B. Social Services	5	50	250		
C. Foster Care and Adoption Assistance	5	50	250		
IV. Non-Medicare Health Spending					
A. Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services	2.5	25	125		
B. Consumer and Occupational Health and Safety	2.5	25	125		
V. Social Welfare Spending					
A. School-Related Programs	1.5	15	75		
B. Family Support Payments	2	20	100		
VI. Administration of Justice					
A. Department of Justice	5	50	250		
B. Federal Prison Activities	5	50	250		
Total Cuts	60.5	605	3,025	(Must total approximately \$1 billion)	

Remember, *five percent cuts are inclusive*. If you cut 5%, you are cutting the programs listed under the 1% category as well.



HONORABLE NANCY WRIGHT

TO: Constituent Focus Group

FROM: Congresswoman Nancy Wright

REGARDING: Liberal and Conservative Constituents

I want you to know how much I appreciate your help in determining budget cuts for the coming year. Your suggestions have caused quite a stir in our district. My office has been inundated with e-mails, letters, and phone calls from constituents asking if I took into account your liberal or conservative “leanings.”

I need to be able to answer my critics! And I need to make sure we have included liberals and conservatives in the constituent focus group. I would like you to review the information I am providing about liberals and conservatives. Please review the “Liberal and Conservative Information Sheet” and the “Definitions of Liberal and Conservative Groups.” Use these two documents to fill out the “Liberal and Conservative Points of View” chart. This will help you recognize the differences between liberal and conservative priorities. See if you can then determine whether you are more likely to support liberal or conservative funding cuts.

We want copies of your “Liberal and Conservative Points of View” charts once all of you have completed them. We will be using the charts as part of a survey, which will tell us if we have included both liberals and conservatives in the constituent focus group.

Attachments

LIBERAL AND CONSERVATIVE INFORMATION SHEET

HOW WE PERCEIVE LIBERALS AND CONSERVATIVES

Surveys show that Americans have both negative and positive views about liberals and conservatives.

In a recent survey, Americans gave these types of responses when asked about liberals:

Positive View of Liberals

- Generous
- Open-minded
- Eager to help those who cannot help themselves

Negative View of Liberals

- Free-spending, “bleeding hearts”
- Pro-handouts
- Ready to throw money at often ill-defined social problems
- In favor of increasing taxes to the working and middle classes
- Willing to accept a greater degree of government involvement

Americans have the following opinions about conservatives:

Positive View of Conservatives

- Careful
- Fiscally responsible
- Desire a low degree of government involvement
- Protect valued traditions

Negative View of Conservatives

- Tight-fisted with government money
- Closed-minded or old-fashioned in their ideas about society
- Against change
- Not open to compromise

MODERATES

Americans often find fault with both liberals and conservatives, which may account for why most people identify themselves as moderates—a middle-of-the-road conglomeration of liberal and conservative ideas that differ by region and often by individual. Some moderates are against government welfare but favor abortion rights; others favor welfare programs but oppose affirmative action. Some moderates lean toward the liberal side by wanting some government intervention in social and economic issues, but not to the extent supported by liberals. Other moderates lean toward the conservative side by favoring no government involvement in social and economic issues except for a few specific, often idiosyncratic programs. Overall, moderates are not as idealistic as liberals and not as cautious as conservatives about the ability of government to solve social and economic problems. A major difference between moderates on the one hand, and liberals and conservatives on the other, is that “moderate” is not an ideology. Moderate is not based upon a belief about the purpose of human beings and, therefore, the function of government. Liberalism and conservatism are ideologies based upon a belief about the purpose of human beings and the function of government.

RADICALS AND REACTIONARIES

Radical reformers are generally reacting against what they perceive to be the slow pace of change. Radicals advocate rapid transition as a way to achieve reform. As an example, the groups in Russia that advocate a rapid transition to capitalism are referred to as the radical reform bloc. They believe that the sooner Russia makes the transition, the sooner it will reap the benefits of rapid economic growth. Radicals can advocate many different end goals—socialism, communism, or capitalism and democracy—but their method of achieving these ends is to move fast. Currently, the radicals in Russia are in conflict with the moderates, who want to phase in reform over a number of years, and with the reactionaries, who want to return to a communist government.

Reactionaries are those who respond against change. They generally want a return to what was — or what they perceive to be — the old and more favorable system, such as the Russians who want to return to communism.

Like moderates, radicals and reactionaries change their opinions with the circumstances. They do not have ideologies based upon a belief about the purpose of human beings or the function of government.

BASIC DIFFERENCES BETWEEN LIBERALS AND CONSERVATIVES

Americans tend to misunderstand the differences between liberals and conservatives. Most people assume that conservatives are *laissez faire* (hands-off) about government involvement in the economy or the social welfare of the people. In theory, conservatives traditionally have seemed to favor a free market with no government regulation. In practice, this may not always be the case.

Conservatives favor government intervention that supports or helps conservative voting blocs (e.g., farm subsidies, tariffs), and they oppose government intervention that hurts conservative voting blocs (e.g., minimum wage, stringent EPA regulations). Liberals, likewise, support government intervention that helps liberal voting blocs (e.g., affirmative action), and oppose government intervention that hurts liberal voting blocs (e.g., medical marijuana, abortion).

Conservatives traditionally have appeared to support strong states' rights over a strong central government. They will oppose using the presidency and Congress to override the will of the states when states support conservative causes (e.g., prayer in schools, anti-affirmative action). However, they support a strong central government and will use the presidency and Congress to override the will of the states when fighting for conservative causes (e.g., enforcement of drug policy, curbing civil rights for suspected terrorists). Liberals will respond in the same manner — supporting states' rights over a strong central government in drug enforcement cases, and supporting a strong central government in cases of environmental regulation.

In this regard, the basic difference between liberals and conservatives is that liberals are *more likely* to use federal powers to regulate the economy and control the states, while conservatives are *more likely* to use federal powers to regulate the social behavior of individuals and groups.

The important message here is that ideologies, because they are based upon a belief about the purpose of human beings, are fairly consistent. However, those who favor one ideology over the other are not always consistent. People who label themselves as liberal or conservative may differ in their beliefs by region of the country, local interests, economic class, religion, or national and international issues. But the ideologies of liberalism and conservatism are consistent. This is explained in the "Definitions of Liberal and Conservative Groups."

It is also important to keep in mind that liberal does not mean the same thing as Democratic, and conservative does not mean the same thing as Republican. Democrats and Republicans are political parties, and political parties are formal institutions trying to get their candidates elected to office. Their philosophies change regularly and are not based upon beliefs about the purpose of human beings. Democrats and Republicans have used the words liberal and conservative and, in attacking each other, have turned liberal and conservative into negative words. To get past thinking of liberal and conservative as pejorative terms, remember that these are ideologies based upon a belief about the purpose of human beings and the function of government.

DEFINITIONS OF LIBERAL AND CONSERVATIVE GROUPS

There are some features of liberalism and conservatism that have remained the same since the 16th century. However, some aspects of liberalism and conservatism have changed over time. These changes are marked by the different names given to liberal and conservative groups. The following lists show the common features of all liberals and conservatives and the ways in which these groups have changed or expanded their beliefs.

All Liberals

- The purpose of human beings is to seek their individual destiny
- People are essentially rational
- People are capable of improvement
- People can exercise individual freedom
- People should be free to seek their own course
- People make a contract with government
- Government should serve the people

Neoclassical Liberals

- Government is a necessary evil and should be small
- Government should only exist to protect against force and fraud
- Nature intended to remove the weak (Social Darwinists)
- Open competition unfettered by government regulation should exist in the marketplace (laissez faire economics)

All Conservatives

- People cannot survive as individuals and only cooperative groups can thrive
- The purpose of human beings is to serve their group or community
- People are flawed
- Government is rooted in custom and tradition, and citizens should respect and trust tradition
- People use government, education, family, and the church to conserve the customary way of life and resist drastic change
- Institutions should restrain the passions of the people
- Government should be made up of the natural elite, or those who rise above the masses through their financial success

Classical Conservatives

- Government is good and is necessary to control people
- Government keeps individual greed in check
- Freedom should be kept under control
- People should be free to pursue their goals only if they do not threaten the social order
- Without restraint, people do things that threaten or endanger themselves and society
- Wisdom gained through experience is preferable to using logic or reason
- Distrust innovation and promote reform, not dramatic change
- Defend traditional social hierarchy
- Favor representative government but by the natural aristocracy
- Are willing to share power as long as it is not inclusive or an open democracy that panders to the masses
- Favor landed elite rather than commercial elite, and feel capitalism is dehumanizing
- Support private property

Social Welfare Liberals

- Believe governments exist to provide services, regulate industry (and the economy in general), redistribute wealth, and support economic development
- Think those not given privilege by birth should be given special assistance by government to “even the playing field”
- Oppose government attempts to regulate personal behaviors and morals
- Support gay rights legislation, rights to abortion, and fewer curbs on access to information including pornography
- Find value in recognizing cultural differences
- Want to preserve identity of different groups
- Look to the future, believing progress will ensure a better life for all
- Support a strong military and increased military spending
- Are reluctant to accept war as a solution and tend to be less nationalistic

U.S. Conservatives, Free-Market Conservatives, Laissez Faire Conservatives

- Champion commercialism and favor commercial elite rather than landed elite
- Are laissez faire businesspersons and industrialists
- Are Social Darwinists who defend private property, competitive individualism, and economic progress
- Believe there is too much government interference in the free market
- Favor reducing social welfare and government spending
- Are anti-government regulation of business and industry
- Believe freedom essentially means the right to compete in a free market
- Support a strong military and increased military spending
- Fear communism, socialism, and fringe groups
- Oppose abortion and gay rights legislation, and propose greater curbs on pornography
- Minimize focus on cultural differences
- Believe a dominant cultural tradition creates a stronger group
- Look to the past for guidance in dealing with present problems

LIBERAL AND CONSERVATIVE POINTS OF VIEW ON CONTEMPORARY ISSUES

Issues	Current Liberals	Current Conservatives
Social Issues:	Expect government to provide a level playing field for all Americans through social programs that protect people, provide assistance to the needy, and redistribute wealth and advantage.	Believe that individuals are protected and supported by family, community, and church or faith-based organizations, and that these private entities are responsible for solving social problems. This should not be the responsibility of the federal government.
Abortion	Support “freedom of choice” because individuals have the right to control their own destiny.	Support “right to life” and what is best for the community over the rights of the individual, based on traditional morality.
School Prayer	Oppose, on basis of First Amendment’s prohibition of government establishment of religion.	Support, as a means to reinforce family and community values.
Affirmative Action	Favor government-mandated rules designed to increase minority access.	Support unfettered competition based on merit.
Crime Prevention	Want to use government institutions and government-funded private agencies to help those in need as a way of preventing crime; emphasize importance of rights of the accused.	Favor more severe measures for criminals to punish those who threaten the community; do not want to sacrifice crime control for the rights of criminals.
Economic Issues:	Believe government should regulate businesses in the public interest, tax according to wealth, protect workers and the environment, and ensure economic growth.	Want government to keep hands off the economy, or <i>laissez faire</i> . Favor a free-market system, in which everyone competes according to his/her ability.
Taxes	Want the rich to pay a greater share of the tax burden to help even the playing field for the middle and lower classes.	Want to keep taxes low by giving tax breaks or lowering taxes for the highest income brackets, giving these people money to spend on goods and services and to invest in production, thus providing jobs for the working and middle classes.
Corporate Taxes	Want corporations to pay more of the tax burden to help redistribute wealth.	Feel that taxing corporations will stall economic growth.
Government Spending	Want to maintain social programs to help redistribute wealth and provide the needy with assistance so they can meet their goals.	Emphasize cutting spending, except for defense; other programs should be paid for by local communities, nonprofits, churches and faith-based groups, and families.

Fill in the Blanks Below with a Rationale for Current Liberal and Conservative Thinking

Issues	Current Liberals Why would liberals support/not support?	Current Conservatives Why would conservatives support/not support?
Military Defense and Foreign Policy		
Provide federally funded drug treatment programs for veterans		
Increase funding for the “War on Terrorism”		
Science, Space, and Technology		
Fund research for developing alternative sources of fuel		
Enforce government regulation of corporate polluters		
Education, Training, and Employment		
Provide federally funded job-training programs for the unemployed		
Support random drug-testing in schools and after-school activities		
Provide college scholarships for disadvantaged students		

Fill in the Blanks Below with a Rationale for Current Liberal and Conservative Thinking

Issues	Current Liberals Why would liberals support/not support?	Current Conservatives Why would conservatives support/not support?
Health and Social Welfare		
Use social programs to redistribute wealth from rich to poor		
Privatize Social Security		
Legalize marriage of same-sex couples		
Administration of Justice		
Legalize physician-assisted suicide		
Support continued use of the death penalty		
Provide parolees with education and training		

Where do you fit? In the chart above, use a highlighter to indicate whether liberal or conservative best matches your point of view for each issue. This will give you a clearer picture of whether you tend to favor a liberal or conservative view of the role of government. Few people are consistently liberal or conservative. Most people have a combination of beliefs that include liberal and conservative.



HONORABLE NANCY WRIGHT

TO: Constituent Focus Group
 FROM: Congresswoman Nancy Wright
 REGARDING: Compromise Budget Cuts

Thank you so much for your feedback regarding liberals and conservatives in our district. The results indicate that both groups are present. Therefore, they must be accounted for in my suggested budget cuts.

As you know, I made a commitment during my campaign that, if elected, I would represent all of the people of my district. As a result, I will not be able to propose budget cuts that exclusively favor one side or hurt one side. In addition, Congress is split, with strong representation from both liberals and conservatives. I must present a plan that has a chance of being accepted by both groups.

I have asked my assistant to assemble your focus group into working groups with representatives from both the liberal and conservative sides. I will assume your working group represents our district as a whole, and I expect you to reach a consensus about funding cuts.

I will be selecting the most reasonable compromise plan to present at a town hall meeting next week. To ensure that your recommendations are clearly understood, would you please include the following in your plan:

1. A definition of the problem as your group sees it
2. A review of each of the six budget categories, and your suggested cuts to the programs in each category
3. A pie chart showing your proposed budget, with the dollar amounts of your cuts for each program
4. For the programs subject to cuts, include suggestions as to who might pick up those programs and enable them to continue (e.g., state government, local government, private industry, or even families or nonprofit agencies)
5. If a program is to be cut, please indicate which of my constituents will be upset by the cuts and why, and who might support the cuts and why
6. An explanation of what role compromise between liberal and conservative views played in achieving your budget

Remember, we need to cut \$1 billion, and these cuts must represent a compromise. With your help, I can bring to Congress — and the American people — a better budget.

Proposed Budget Cuts by Groups Representing Both Liberals and Conservatives

Budget Category	Current Budget (in \$ Billions)	1% Cut (in \$ Millions)	5% Cut (in \$ Millions)	Your Suggested Cuts (by 1% or 5%)	Will this cut be supported by liberals or conservatives?
I. Military Spending					
A. Machinery, Equipment, Weapons, and Armor	7	70	350		<input type="checkbox"/> Liberals <input type="checkbox"/> Conservatives
B. Research and Development	3.5	35	175		<input type="checkbox"/> Liberals <input type="checkbox"/> Conservatives
C. Nuclear Weapons Activities	5	50	250		<input type="checkbox"/> Liberals <input type="checkbox"/> Conservatives
D. Veterans Education, Training, and Rehabilitation	2.5	25	125		<input type="checkbox"/> Liberals <input type="checkbox"/> Conservatives
II. Science, Space, and Technology					
A. National Science Foundation Programs	2.5	25	125		<input type="checkbox"/> Liberals <input type="checkbox"/> Conservatives
B. Department of Energy General Science Programs	2.5	25	125		<input type="checkbox"/> Liberals <input type="checkbox"/> Conservatives
C. Pollution Control and Abatement	7.5	75	375		<input type="checkbox"/> Liberals <input type="checkbox"/> Conservatives
III. Education, Training, Employment, and Social Services					
A. Elementary and Secondary Schools	1.5	15	75		<input type="checkbox"/> Liberals <input type="checkbox"/> Conservatives
B. Social Services	5	50	250		<input type="checkbox"/> Liberals <input type="checkbox"/> Conservatives
C. Foster Care and Adoption Assistance	5	50	250		<input type="checkbox"/> Liberals <input type="checkbox"/> Conservatives

Budget Category	Current Budget (in \$ Billions)	1% Cut (in \$ Millions)	5% Cut (in \$ Millions)	Your Suggested Cuts (by 1% or 5%)	Will this cut be supported by liberals or conservatives?
IV. Non-Medicare Health Spending					
A. Substance Abuse and Mental Health	2.5	25	125		<input type="checkbox"/> Liberals <input type="checkbox"/> Conservatives
B. Consumer and Occupational Health and Safety	2.5	25	125		<input type="checkbox"/> Liberals <input type="checkbox"/> Conservatives
V. Social Welfare Spending					
A. School-Related Programs	1.5	15	75		<input type="checkbox"/> Liberals <input type="checkbox"/> Conservatives
B. Family Support Payments	2	20	100		<input type="checkbox"/> Liberals <input type="checkbox"/> Conservatives
VI. Administration of Justice					
A. Department of Justice	5	50	250		<input type="checkbox"/> Liberals <input type="checkbox"/> Conservatives
B. Federal Prison Activities	5	50	250		<input type="checkbox"/> Liberals <input type="checkbox"/> Conservatives
Total Cuts	60.5	605	3,025	(Must total approximately \$1 billion)	



Appendix II:

Lesson Materials

WHO CAN AND WILL BE RESPONSIBLE FOR FEDERALLY CUT PROGRAMS

The following entities could, if willing, take responsibility for programs cut from the federal budget:

- States
- Local governments, like counties or cities
- Special districts, like school districts, fire and water districts, and local after-school programs operated by park and recreation groups
- Nonprofit agencies, like the Red Cross, food banks, Rotary Clubs, United Way, and YMCA
- Churches or faith-based organizations
- Private corporations, industries, or businesses, such as corporate daycare centers
- Families or individuals

Remind students that:

- States cannot carry debt in the same manner as the federal government (Refer to the California state budget information provided in Appendix I)
- Problems left to state and local governments or to nonprofits or families may or may not be addressed by these groups
- States, local governments, nonprofits, and families cannot be forced to do work left undone by the federal government
- The federal government can suggest that local entities solve these problems, but it cannot mandate this without providing funding

A BRIEF HISTORY OF LIBERALS AND CONSERVATIVES

The nature and purpose of human beings, and the nature and purpose of government, lie at the heart of liberal and conservative political philosophy. Answers to the questions, “Why do people exist?” and “Why do governments exist?” help explain how liberals and conservatives differ.

HISTORICAL VIEW

The Theory of Divine Right

From the 15th through 18th centuries, the Divine Right Theory in Europe held that God had created government (the state) and had given chosen leaders — generally those of royal blood — a divine right to rule. People were expected to obey these rulers, as they were an extension of the power of God. The divine right of kings assigned certain powers and expectations to the elite. The duty of all others was service to the crown. The purpose of human beings, therefore, was to serve God and the crown. In its most general sense, the crown meant the state or nation. Individuals had neither independent rights nor independent meaning. People were part of an organic whole — a community, a state, the family of God.

This was a system based upon order and tradition. If nothing else, this (feudal) system lasted for a long time and was quite stable. Feudalism emphasized community, tradition, authority, hierarchical order, and government by God’s chosen elite. Because the system was ordained by God, it was both a sin and treason to question it. This system was agriculturally based, with very few people at the top rungs of the social and economic ladder and the masses of uneducated agricultural workers at the bottom. There was a small middle or professional class. It seemed to work as long as the people remained tied to the land and the economic structure remained highly stratified.

The Theory of the Social Contract

In the 17th and 18th centuries, European philosophers (Thomas Hobbes and John Locke, among others) wrote about government as a contract among consenting human beings. In this philosophy, people originally lived in a state of nature where no government existed and all people were free. However, without authority and given the natural greed of human beings, people were subject to having their freedom and possessions taken from them by force. While people may have been essentially good in a state of nature, they had no protection from the aggressive or violent actions of others. As Hobbes (1588-1679) envisioned it, human life in these unsafe and brutal conditions was “solitary, poore, nasty, brutish, and short.”

Thomas Hobbes

Thomas Hobbes believed that people are driven by appetite and aversion and are, therefore, perpetually involved in a power struggle with others over control of resources and personal freedom. In order to preserve their individual freedoms, people must band together and freely give up power to the state in exchange for protection. People create the state as a form of protection, and the state can only exercise the powers granted to it. Hobbes believed that people could give up all of their rights to the state—except the right to self-preservation—and that the state could maintain authoritarian control of the people. He was liberal to the extent of believing in:

- Innate individualism
- Self-interest
- Natural rights
- Relative equality
- A social contract among individuals

But he also believed in authoritarian governments. To Hobbes, people by virtue of their flaws are forced to create institutions that limit their freedom. In other words, people need an authoritarian government in the form of a powerful sovereign. Hobbes' conclusion isn't liberal (surrender to absolute power), but his premise that individuals are equal and have a natural right to be free, is.

John Locke

John Locke (1632-1704) insisted that the state exists to serve the will of the people, and that if the state fails the people, it is within the rights of the people to destroy their contract with the state and create a new government. Government exists, therefore, to serve the people.

How did Locke regard the purpose of human beings?

- People possess natural rights to “life, liberty, and estate”
- They hold these rights independent of society or government
- Because people are created equal by God, they are equal by nature
- They are not subjects of an absolute sovereign
- There is no divinely ordained or natural hierarchy
- Therefore, people are on earth to serve their own ends

These notions sanctified the individual. Locke believed that people are driven by their own ambitions, capable of reason, deserving of liberty and free expression, and entitled to open competition and equal treatment.

Locke further promoted a kind of trickle-down theory about the industrious few who accumulated the most wealth. He felt that people, acting on their own behalf, collectively improved conditions of the whole. Those who were industrious and successful created products and conditions that benefited others. In a way, he justified emerging class distinctions and the accumulation of wealth—both of which were results of the Industrial Revolution.

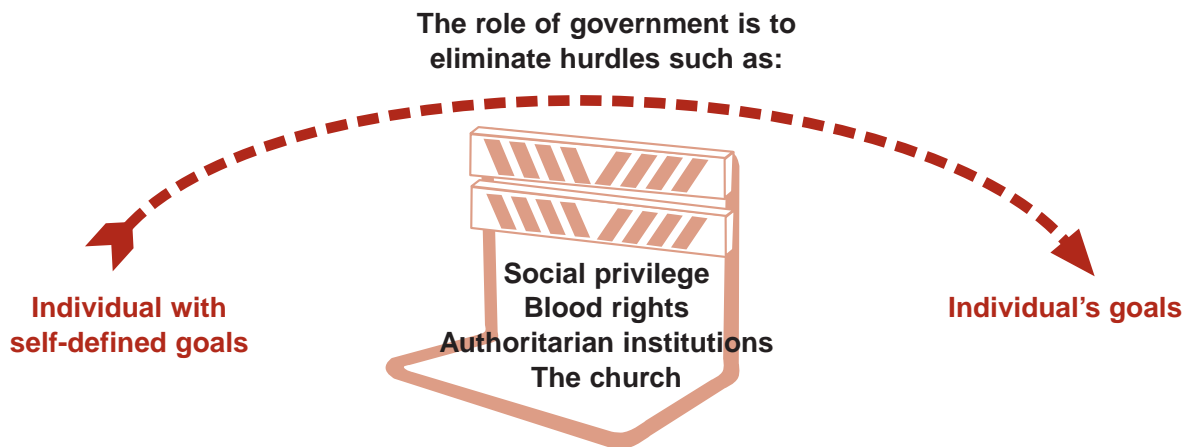
Liberalism, unlike feudalism, better served the increasingly secularized modern industrial state. It provided room for the creation of a middle class that could compete for wealth, not because of bloodlines or centuries of tradition but because of personal attributes. This radically individualistic concept of the purpose of human beings suited the Industrial Revolution and Britain's American colonies.

The New Role of Government

Liberalism gave government a new role. Government was seen as a necessary evil. It was the job of government to keep economic competition among equals fair and provide for defense. Adam Smith's famous 1776 treatise, “The Wealth of Nations,” was an influential statement about this new role of government.

The People's Hurdles According to Liberals

In the 17th and 18th centuries, the neoclassical liberal notion of keeping competition fair meant not allowing privilege to interfere with competition in the marketplace. Liberals saw the goal of the individual and the role of government like this:



Liberalism came along at about the same time as capitalism and industrialization, all of which favored the development of a competitive and politically active middle class. The privileges of the elite were seen as an impediment to the new and growing middle class. According to the neoclassical liberals, the purpose of human beings was to reach a self-defined goal, and the role of government was to maintain order and keep the impediments of privilege out of the way of competition. At the heart of this theory is the idea that the individual, not the collective state or the elite, is the most significant factor in the equation. Governments, in this notion of liberalism, can be authoritarian as long as they perform the tasks given them in the social contract.

American Liberalism

Liberalism in America begins with the Puritan tradition. The Puritan, as historian Carl Degler says, was a “fearless individualist.” In breaking from the Roman Catholic Church, Protestants proclaimed a priesthood of all believers in which each man’s relationship to God was a personal, not collective, responsibility. The Puritans took this individual salvation as an ominous duty and a right. It was the force of their convictions that made Massachusetts a flourishing British colony in the 1630s. But it also led to clashes between Puritan leaders and the British Crown. Charles I was head of the Church of England, and the English were expected to conform to the beliefs of that Church and the will of the Crown. As a result, those loyal to the Church tended to be loyal to the Crown as well.

The Puritans had set out to “purify” the Church of England of its traces of Catholicism, and they were critical of the Church and the Crown. They tended to favor Parliament in battles between the Crown and Parliament. Roger Williams, for one, was willing to pronounce the Crown wrong and himself right, even if this behavior threatened the sovereignty of the Massachusetts colony. It was this example of righteous individualism that served as a model to the common Puritan. The rebellious example set by the Puritan leadership made it difficult for them to control the Puritan community of believers. The Puritans placed great stock in individual reason and intellect. As the English Puritan Richard Baxter insisted, “the most Religious, are the most truly, and nobly rational.” Puritans were likely to follow their own path lit by careful reason and intellect. The theocracy of Puritan New England gave way to secular materialism, but the belief in self and reason, resistance to suppression, and the determination to tell the truth as seen by the individual, remained strong American liberal characteristics.

Thomas Paine

It was Thomas Paine (1737-1809) who made the connection between individualism and representative governments for Americans. To Paine, society is good but government is evil — a necessary evil. He believed that even though government coerces people and controls their lives, it is necessary because most people cannot be trusted to respect the natural rights of others. Therefore, we create governments to protect our natural rights. If the government works properly, we obey. If it fails by not protecting our natural rights or violating our rights, it becomes intolerable and the people have a right to overthrow it and replace it. Unlike Locke, Paine claims that the new government must be a republic. A monarchy is not compatible with individual liberty. Paine's views fit nicely into the American tradition of individualism characterized by the Puritans.

The Conservative View

Conservatism draws from both the autocratic theory of privileged leadership and the liberal tradition of open competition. Conservatism, first recognized in England in the 1830s, was best championed by Edmund Burke, a member of the British House of Commons.

Edmund Burke

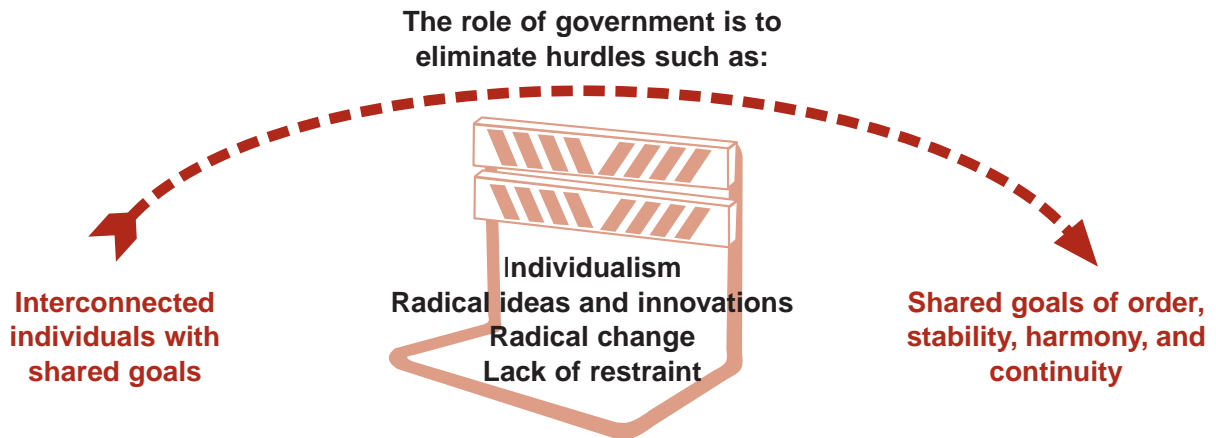
Edmund Burke (1729-1797) did not share the liberals' optimism about rational individuals. He believed that a collection of people using long-standing, conventional institutions could act in wise ways but that individuals were foolish. Social reform had to be prudent and based upon the lessons of history. Tradition, custom, and wisdom gained from years of experience are to be trusted and change must be slow and careful. Any movement that tears at the fabric of society will ultimately be the undoing of society.

Society, as envisioned by Burke, is an organism whose purpose is to promote the good of the whole community, with the individual being served by promotion of the community. He believed that society precedes individuals and that society shapes and forms individuals into civilized beings. The liberals, Burke claimed, did not account for the many ways that humans are connected and dependent. He considered it unrealistic to imagine a natural state where each person, as separate and distinct, fought to achieve individually defined goals. According to Burke, people could only survive as part of a group or community, and this required "...their will controlled, and their passions brought into subjection by a power out of themselves..."

Conservatives believed that good government was based upon order, staid and long-standing institutions, and a natural aristocracy. A civil society is not a social contract by consenting individuals. It is a sacred covenant with ties across generations that cannot be easily dissolved. The aristocracy, because of its economic status and social preparation, is the best caretaker of a stable government. The aristocracy sits between autocratic tyranny and popular tyranny and rules best on behalf of all. A government entrusted to the aristocracy exacts control, protects traditions, and establishes and operates institutions that control the passions of the individual.

The People's Hurdles According to Conservatives

Conservatives saw the goals of the people and the role of government like this:



This theory suited the landed gentry of England, who were losing control of the economic system with the advent of the Industrial Revolution. They were soon to lose control of political and social privilege, and conservatism sounded an alarm against the erosion of their power.

Both conservatism and liberalism took a turn in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Conservatives championed many of the values originally considered liberal, while the conservative mainstay of strong centralized power became associated with liberals.

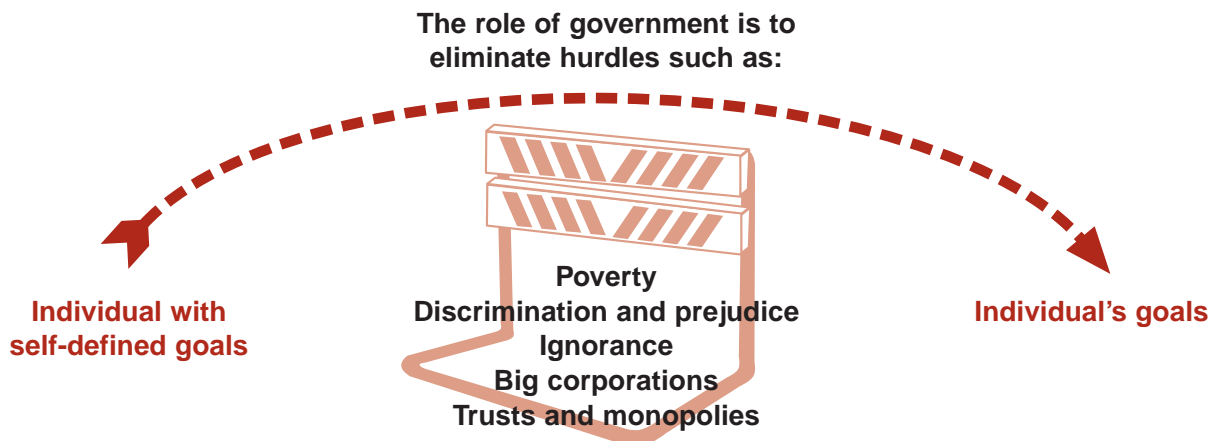
THE CONTEMPORARY VIEW

Social Welfare Liberalism

With the advent of the Progressive Movement in the late 19th century, liberalism redefined what it saw as the hurdles coming between individuals and their self-defined goals. The original hurdles taken on by neoclassical liberals were the restrictions of privilege, worship, and competition. Hurdles to social welfare liberals are such human conditions as poverty, race, gender, segregation, illness, and ignorance. People cannot be truly free or expected to compete fairly if they face disadvantages that fall outside their control. The role of government, then, is to provide a level playing field where all people can compete. For liberals in the 20th century, government becomes a useful tool for expanding freedom and providing individuals with access to opportunity.

The People's Hurdles According to Social Welfare Liberals

Social welfare liberals see the goals of the individual and the role of government like this:



Government is now expected to provide social and economic opportunities, ensure equality, regulate business and government on behalf of the people, and support capitalism and competition. Social welfare liberals also think that government is obligated to enhance opportunities. They support programs to reduce poverty by instituting a progressive tax that will redistribute income from the wealthier classes to the poor. They rely on government to regulate the activities of business and the economy.

U.S. Conservatives, Free-Market Conservatives, Laissez Faire Conservatives

Conservatives have a different approach when it comes to the role of government. They believe that the private sector can outperform the government in almost any activity. Conservatives take the position that individuals are primarily responsible for their own well-being, and that government should not redistribute income or craft programs that will change the status of individuals. In issues of morality, conservatives tend to support greater government regulation of social values and moral decisions.

In the most simple sense, U.S. conservatives are modernized neoclassical liberals. Sometimes, with minor modifications in their beliefs, they are also called:

- Free-market conservatives
- Laissez faire conservatives
- Individualist conservatives

These conservatives differ from Britain's Burkean conservatives because the United States never experienced a state religion that excluded some from privilege, feudalism that kept classes of people oppressed, or aristocratic rule that used blood lines as the gatekeeper for political participation and economic opportunity. U.S. conservatives were not trying to champion and maintain the privilege of a state religion, a class structure, or an aristocracy, so they did not argue for authoritarian institutions that kept the passions of the people in check or upheld their economic and social status. John Adams and Alexander Hamilton shared some Burkean values like natural aristocracy, but these U.S. conservatives championed commercialism and were not economic conservatives. They were businessmen and industrialists who favored laissez faire capitalism. They shared the same views about competition and Social Darwinism as the European neoclassical liberals.

What makes the U.S. conservatives different from the neoclassical liberals is their interpretation of individualism and a natural elite. U.S. conservatives, like Burkean conservatives, believe that:

- People are social animals that survive as part of a community
- It is the responsibility of the community to socialize the individual, and it is the responsibility of the individual to uphold the values and goals of the group, whether that group be nation, state, community, or family
- People compete in the economic arena as individuals
- Socially, people belong to a group and must help keep the group strong by abiding by its rules, customs, and expectations
- Private property and competitiveness are rights of the individual
- Government should not regulate business and the economy
- Traditional values and respect for long-standing cultural mores should be maintained
- Government should be shepherded by the elite

To U.S. conservatives, the elite is the *economic* elite — those who have proven their ability to rule by rising above the masses in a competitive, capitalist system. They believe social problems stem from too much government interference in the free market and too little responsibility given to families and communities to care for their own. People must be taught to restrain their passions and instincts through education by schools, church, families, and social groups — but not government. U.S. conservatives fight for a reduction in social welfare, government regulations, and government spending. The one exception is spending on the military. In the 20th century, U.S. conservatives feared the spread of communism, which they felt would destroy the free-market economies of the world. This fear led to support of military spending and a federal debt, which was encouraged by corporate profits made possible through the military industrial complex.

The People's Hurdles According to U. S. Conservatives

Conservatives value the group over the individual and consider the goal to be a shared community order. As a result, they consider individualism to be a hurdle to the success and survival of the group. U.S. conservatives see the goals of the people and the role of government like this:



U.S. LIBERALS AND CONSERVATIVES ON WAR

Wars almost always move politics toward the left. In order to fight wars, governments must assume more powers than they usually have in peace time. Governments gain power in defense building, product R&D, emergency services, and to some degree, education. As a side light to fighting a war, government must spend money on the domestic needs that war intensifies, such as medical care, worker training, and improved transportation. Social welfare liberals generally approve of government taking an active role in providing economic opportunity for workers, improved medical and emergency services, and educational opportunity. However, there are other aspects of war that liberals do not approve of. As a result of war, governments often take a more active role in intelligence gathering, law enforcement, and restricting free speech and free expression. Governments, in time of war, also tend to become ultra-nationalistic, expecting less questioning from the citizenry and a higher degree of patriotic acquiescence to government and its leaders. These are characteristics of war time that are more akin to conservatism.

Wars cost money, which is spent not only to fight the war but to meet domestic needs. Military buildup often leads governments to deficit spending. The government is forced to borrow money to pay for the war and domestic needs, which crowds out private or corporate borrowers and, in turn, hinders wealth creation. Conservatives have traditionally criticized governments for deficit spending but generally advocate cutting social spending to maintain military spending at high levels. Liberals have traditionally been less critical of government debt and have favored maintaining high levels of social spending while funding a war. Since the Reagan years, conservatives in the United States have shown less concern for the national debt or for potential crowding out.

Conservatives on War

Conservatives typically are strong nationalists. They believe a fundamental duty of government is defense of the country and protection of its citizens. However, conservatives do not support a big government that assumes greater powers over the economy, education, public services, or product R&D. This often conflicts with the fact that conservatives benefit from government military spending, since it is private industry that receives government contracts.

Liberals on War

Liberals, like conservatives, agree that protection from outside threat is an important role of government. However, liberals typically are reticent to accept war as a solution to confrontations and tend to be less nationalistic than conservatives. Liberals believe governments should exhaust all other avenues of reconciling a problem before resorting to war. They believe that people, and governments, are essentially rational and will respond to reasonable compromises as a way of avoiding war. Liberals do support big government that assumes greater powers, but typically prefer that these powers be exercised on behalf of managing the economy, redistributing wealth, caring for the needy, and protecting citizens and the environment from what they perceive to be corporate and government excesses. Liberals benefit from war, as governments often feel compelled to provide greater social services in exchange for support of the war.

Overall, liberals and conservatives find reasons to support war and reasons not to support war. The United States' experiences in Korea and Vietnam illustrate these conflicts. In the "War on Terrorism," conflicts have become apparent among the ranks of liberals who support the war but fear its intrusions into the rights of citizens, and among conservatives who support nationalist causes but fear big government and the government's crowding out of private borrowers.



Appendix III:

Teacher Key

TEACHER KEY

Liberal and Conservative Points of View on Contemporary Issues

The following is a completed version of the liberals and conservatives table that students are expected to fill out. This version can be used to prompt students during this exercise.

Issues	Current Liberals	Current Conservatives
Social Issues:	<i>Expect government to provide a level playing field for all Americans through social programs that protect people, provide assistance to the needy, and redistribute wealth and advantage.</i>	<i>Believe that individuals are protected and supported by family, community, and church or faith-based organizations, and that these private entities are responsible for solving social problems. This should not be the responsibility of the federal government.</i>
Abortion	Support "freedom of choice" because individuals have the right to control their own destiny.	Support "right to life" and what is best for the community over the rights of the individual, based on traditional morality.
School Prayer	Oppose, on basis of First Amendment's prohibition of government establishment of religion.	Support, as a means to reinforce family and community values.
Affirmative Action	Favor government-mandated rules designed to increase minority access.	Support unfettered competition based on merit.
Crime Prevention	Want to use government institutions and government-funded private agencies to help those in need as a way of preventing crime; emphasize importance of rights of the accused.	Favor more severe measures for criminals to punish those who threaten the community; do not want to sacrifice crime control for the rights of criminals.
Economic Issues:	<i>Believe government should regulate businesses in the public interest, tax according to wealth, protect workers and the environment, and ensure economic growth.</i>	<i>Want government to keep hands off the economy, or laissez faire. Favor a free-market system, in which everyone competes according to his/her ability.</i>
Taxes	Want the rich to pay a greater share of the tax burden to help even the playing field for the middle and lower classes.	Want to keep taxes low by giving tax breaks or lowering taxes for the highest income brackets, giving these people money to spend on goods and services and to invest in production, thus providing jobs for the working and middle classes.
Corporate Taxes	Want corporations to pay more of the tax burden to help redistribute wealth.	Feel that taxing corporations will stall economic growth.
Government Spending	Want to maintain social programs to help redistribute wealth and provide the needy with assistance so they can meet their goals.	Emphasize cutting spending, except for defense; other programs should be paid for by local communities, nonprofits, churches and faith-based groups, and families.

Issues	Current Liberals Why would liberals support/not support?	Current Conservatives Why would conservatives support/not support?
Military Defense and Foreign Policy		
Provide federally funded drug treatment programs for veterans	Expect the government to provide for citizens in need, as part of the government's responsibility to eliminate obstacles that hinder the individual's attempt to meet his/her goals.	Consider this the responsibility of local governments, nonprofits, churches and faith-based groups, and families.
Increase funding for the "War on Terrorism"	Consider defense a major function of the federal government and support the government protecting the nation—but consider war a last resort.	Consider protection from outside threat to be one of the main functions of the national government.
Science, Space, and Technology		
Fund research for developing alternative sources of fuel	Support government funding of projects that will improve the human condition and protect the environment, as part of the government's responsibility to eliminate obstacles.	Support projects that improve national security and the economy, but think many R&D projects should be left to the private sector.
Enforce government regulation of corporate polluters	Regulations are part of the government's responsibility to protect the people and the environment.	Believe excessive regulations hinder economic growth and interfere with the free market.
Education, Training, and Employment		
Provide federally funded job-training programs for the unemployed	Expect the government to provide for the social welfare of the people and eliminate obstacles such as lack of education and job preparedness.	Consider this the responsibility of local governments, nonprofits, churches and faith-based groups, and families.
Support random drug-testing in schools and after-school activities	Consider this an infringement on individual rights.	Expect government to control behavior of individuals who threaten the social order.
Provide college scholarships for disadvantaged students	Expect government to even the playing field for all citizens.	Consider this the responsibility of local governments, nonprofits, churches and faith-based groups, and families.

Issues	Current Liberals Why would liberals support/not support?	Current Conservatives Why would conservatives support/not support?
Health and Social Welfare		
Use social programs to redistribute wealth from rich to poor	Consider it government's responsibility to correct the maldistribution of wealth.	Believe government should not interfere in the free market, and people should not rely on government to provide them with health and welfare benefits or economic support.
Privatize Social Security	Trust government control over private control of social welfare.	Trust private control over government control of social welfare.
Legalize marriage of same-sex couples	Believe individuals should control their personal lives, and government should support this individual right to personal expression.	Consider this to be against basic and long-standing community values, and thus harmful to society.
Administration of Justice		
Legalize physician-assisted suicide	Believe individuals should control personal destiny, and government should support this.	Consider this to be against basic and long-standing community values, and thus harmful to society.
Support continued use of the death penalty	Believe death penalty is unevenly applied and more often used against the poor; government should protect individuals from discrimination based on class and status.	Believe government should use whatever means necessary to protect society from those who threaten the social order and the community.
Provide parolees with education and training	Believe government should eliminate obstacles such as lack of education and job preparedness as a way of preventing recidivism and helping individuals meet their goals.	Believe people should not rely on government to provide them with special support. Consider this the responsibility of local governments, nonprofits, churches and faith-based groups, and families.